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JANUARY, 1909

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THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



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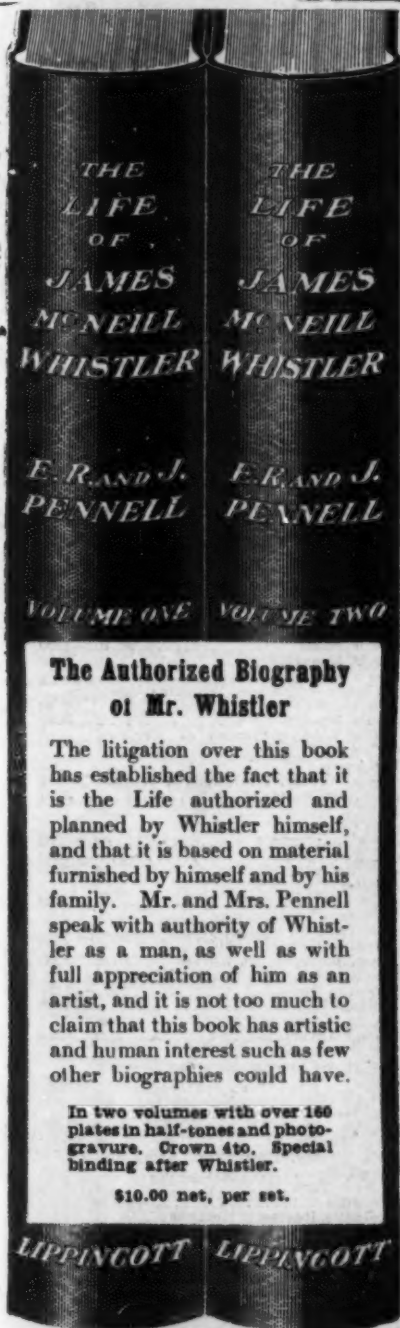


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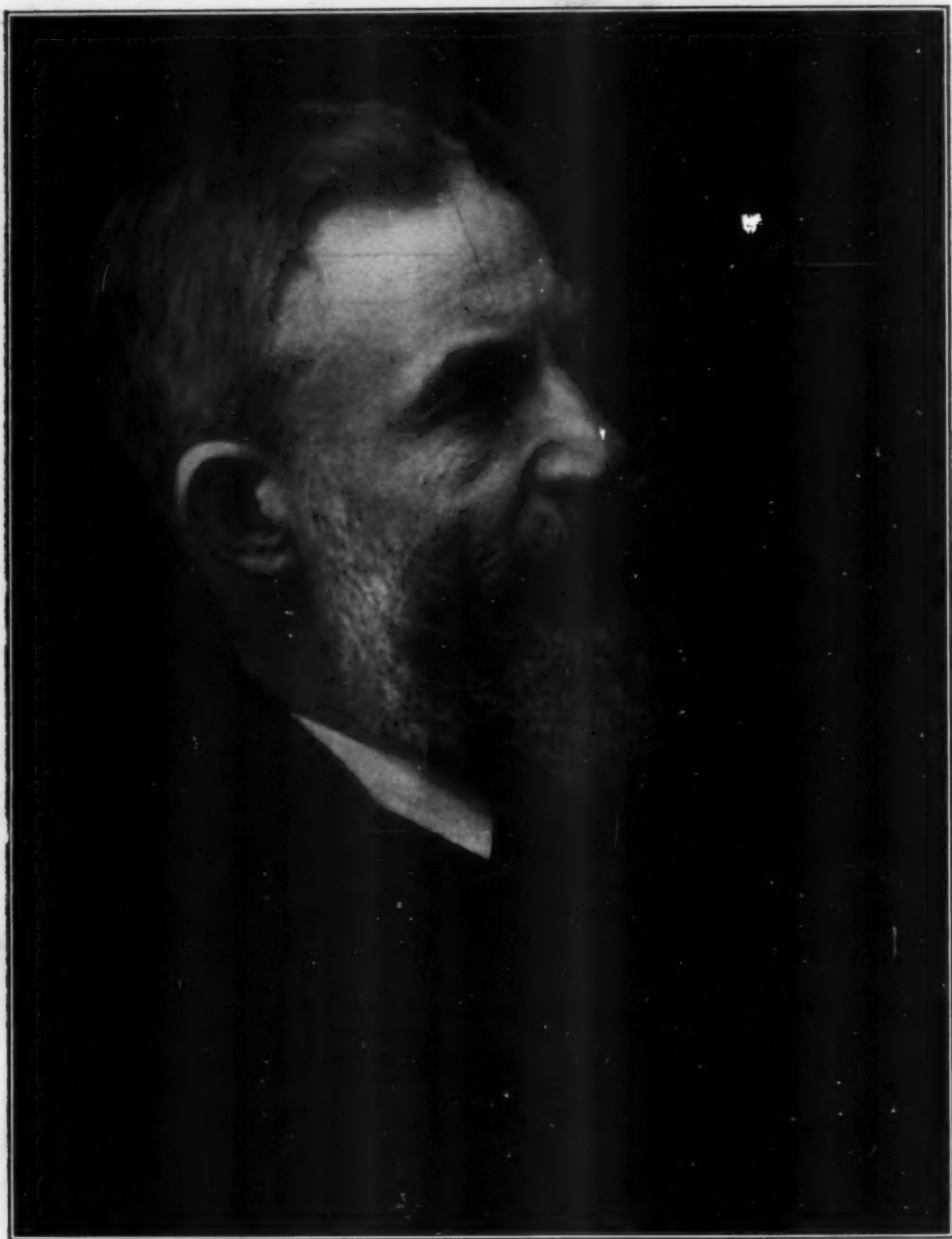
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GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Taken in 1905

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

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JANUARY, 1909

No. 229

THE CAREER OF BERNARD SHAW.

BY PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D.

THAT modern Samuel Johnson, the late Benjamin Jowett, once spoke of Benjamin Disraeli as "a combination of the Arch-Priest of Humbug and a great man." Not otherwise has Bernard Shaw been freely characterized in this day and generation. The world-famed American showman, P. T. Barnum, built up a fortune upon the sweet and simple faith that the American people love to be "humbugged." In the minds of many, Bernard Shaw bids fair to become a world-author through the possession of a similar faith: that not America alone, but the whole world loves to be humbugged. No small part of his stock in trade seems to consist, in Shakespearean phrase, in making himself "a motley to the view." Interrogated once as to the reason for his eccentric conduct, Charles Baudelaire complacently replied, "*Pour étonner les sots.*" Were Bernard Shaw challenged for the reason for his eccentricity, he would doubtless reply, "To astonish the wise." In a very literal sense does he subscribe to the Shakespearean view: "All the world's a stage, and men and women only players." In this day of gaudy theatricism, of sedulous advertisement and per-

sistent self-puffery, Bernard Shaw has deliberately chosen to stand in the limelight, to occupy the focus of the stage of the world. "In England as elsewhere the spontaneous recognition of really original work begins with a mere handful of people," he once said, "and propagates itself so slowly that it has become a commonplace to say that genius, demanding bread, is given a stone after its possessor's death. The remedy for this is sedulous advertisement. Accordingly, I have advertised myself so well that I find myself, while still in middle life, almost as legendary a person as the Flying Dutchman."

If one stops to consider for a moment, he will recall that life has its realities behind its shows. The khaki suit and green tie of Bernard Shaw is as indicative of the man and of his philosophy as was the blue flower of Novalis, the scarlet waistcoat of Gautier, the monocle of Whistler, and the sunflower of Oscar Wilde. Whoever would write the natural history of a literary phenomenon like Bernard Shaw must first disabuse his mind of the popular fantastic notions in regard to his life and personality. The

legend of Saint Bernard fades into thin air before the plain recital of the prosaic details of the life of Mr. Shaw. The year 1856, which witnessed the demise of the "first man of his century," Heinrich Heine, likewise witnessed the birth of the "laughing Ibsen," Bernard Shaw, in Dublin, Ireland, on July 26th. Cursed with an impecunious father, he was early apprenticed to a land agent in Dublin to learn the meaning of thrift. Blessed with a mother of rare talent for music, he unconsciously acquired a knowledge and appreciation of music which was to play no insignificant rôle in his later life. Revolted by the social pretensions and prejudices of his family, who "revolved impecuniously in a sort of vague second-cousinship round a baronetcy," he soon became animated with a Carlylean contempt for respectability, in its thousand gigs. He boasts of the fact that as a schoolboy he was incorrigibly idle and worthless, since the training of four schools he successively attended did him a great deal of harm and no good whatever. But it must not be supposed that his youthful years were barren in educative influence. Parrot-like, he would whistle the oratorios and operatic scores he heard repeatedly practiced at home by the musical society of which his mother was a leading figure—much as the street-gamin of to-day whistles the latest piece of rag-time music. Before he was fifteen, according to his own confession, he knew at least one important work by Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi and Gounod, from cover to cover. For hours at a time, the young lad of fifteen used to frequent the deserted halls of the National Gallery of Ireland; with his "spare change" he bought the volumes of the Bohn translation of Vasari, and learned to recognize the works of a considerable number of Italian and Flemish painters.

It was the mature conviction of his later years that all the people he knew as a boy in Ireland were the worse for what they called their religion. On hearing the

American evangelists, Moody and Sankey, the young sixteen-year-old Shaw was driven to protest in *Public Opinion*—his first appearance in print—that if this were Religion, then he must be an Atheist. Indeed, as he said a few years ago, "If religion is that which binds men to one another, and irreligion that which sunders, then must I testify that I found the religion of my country in its musical genius and its irreligion in its churches and drawing-rooms."

Unlike his colleagues in dramatic criticism of later years, William Archer and Arthur Bingham Walkley, graduates of Edinburgh and Oxford respectively, Bernard Shaw despised, half ignorantly, half penetratingly, the thought of a university education, for it seemed to him to turn out men who all thought alike and were snobs.

He went into the land office, where he learned how to collect rents and to write a good hand. But although he retained his place solely for the sake of financial independence, his heart and brain were a thousand miles away. Finally his work grew unbearably irksome to him, and in the year 1876 he deliberately walked out of the land office forever. Shortly afterwards, he joined his mother in London—the future theater for the display of his unequal, if brilliant and versatile genius.

During the following nine years, from 1876 to 1885, Shaw turned his hand with only indifferent success to many undertakings. It was not simply a crime, it was a blunder to have been an Irishman—and consequently an alien to everything genuinely English. Shaw's unembarrassed frankness passed for outrageous prevarication, his cleverest jest for the most solemn earnest. Like Oscar Wilde, he learned the crippling disadvantage of being an Irishman of superior mentality, ever trifling in a world of ideas. Whatever he did met with failure; his lightest *ballons d'essai* were as unwelcome to the English public as were his heaviest efforts at blank verse, at criticism of music, at journalistic hack work. Through his

acquaintance with Chichister Bell, of the family of that name, so celebrated for scientific invention and notable research, he became interested in physics and acquainted with the works of Tyndall and Helmholtz. He even worked for a time with a company formed in London to exploit an invention of the great American inventor, Thomas A. Edison. After various attempts, of which this was the last, to assist his parents by endeavoring to earn an honest living for himself, he finally gave up trying, he confesses, to commit this sin against his nature. It is true that his life was not without its diversions; for his talent as a congenial accompanist on the piano assured his *entrée* into a certain desirable circle of musical society in London; and the great library at Bloomsbury and the priceless picture galleries at Trafalgar Square and Hampton Court, certainly, were not lacking in a hospitality of which he gladly availed himself.

During the five years, from 1879 to 1884 inclusive, he devoted his energies ruthlessly to the production of five novels, one of them never published, which were to lead, if not to the immediate establishment of literary position, certainly to the formation of valuable friendships and acquaintanceships of lifelong standing. Again and again he sent forth his manuscripts; but they were invariably returned by the publishers. His iconoclasm, his freedom of thought and expression, his Ibsenic frankness in dealing with the gray, garish aspects of contemporary life, were in inverse ratio to the requirements of the conservative, unprogressive London publishers. Unwilling to sacrifice his art, resolved "to paint man man, whatever the issue," and determined not to disavow the principles at which he had arrived, he accepted the alternative—the temporary failure of his novels.

To the Socialist revival of the 'eighties, the world owes the credit for the discovery of Bernard Shaw. In 1879, Shaw first met the late James Lecky, and acquired the grounding in Temperament,



Photo. by The Gainsborough Studio, London.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

the fondness for Phonetics, and the early incentive to public speaking which have borne such abundant fruit in his later career. Through Lecky's influence, Shaw joined, and became a constant debater in, the Zeletical Society, a debating club modeled on the once famed Dialectical Society. Here Shaw first met Sidney Webb, that able Socialist economist, and soon became his close friend and co-worker. Shaw subsequently joined the Dialectical Society and remained faithful to it for a number of years. From this time on, he evinced the greatest interest in public speaking, and persistently haunted public meetings of all sorts. One night, in 1883, he wandered into the Memorial Hall in Farringdon street; by chance the speaker was the great Single-Taxer, Henry George. For the first time did the importance of the economic basis

dawn upon Shaw's mind. He left the meeting a changed man; and soon was devouring George's *Progress and Poverty* and Marx's *Das Kapital* with all the ardor of youth and burning social enthusiasm. While Shaw refused to subscribe to all the economic theories of Marx, and later victoriously refuted him on the question of the Theory of Value, he realized the overwhelming validity of the "bible of the working classes" as a jeremiad against the *bourgeoisie*. During these days, he spoke early and often, at the street-corner, on the curbstone, from the tail of a cart. He once said that he first caught the ear of the British public on a cart in Hyde Park, to the blaring of brass bands!

In practical conjunction with Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas and Sidney Olivier, although they actually joined at different times, Shaw became a member of the Fabian Society after it had been in existence only a short time. His connection with that society is a matter of history, and finds tangible evidence to-day, not only in books and pamphlets, but also in the actual Socialist and Labor representation in the present British Parliament. Suffice it to say that, from the very first, his influence made itself most strongly felt upon the society, and for many years he has been the guiding spirit in its councils. Through the establishment of certain Socialist journals during the 'eighties, Shaw's novels began to find their way into print. *An Unsocial Socialist* and *Cashel Byron's Profession* appeared in *To-Day*, printed by Henry Hyde Champion, later by Belfort Bax and James Leigh Joynes, among others; *The Irrational Knot* and *Love Among the Artists* appeared in *Our Corner*, published by the brilliant orator and Socialist agitator, Mrs. Annie Besant. They made no impression upon the British public, but greatly pleased such men as William Archer, William Morris, Robert Louis Stevenson, and William E. Henley, who gave either public or personal expressions of their appreciation. From time to time

in the last fifteen years they have been published in both England and America, with varying, but in general, with unusual success in this day of infinitesimally short-lived "successes."

From 1883 on, Shaw was daily coming in contact with the brilliant spirits of the younger generation in Socialism, and with the leaders in thought and opinion on the side of vegetarianism, humanitarianism and land nationalization. There were James Leigh Joynes, who had been arrested in Ireland with Henry George; Sidney Olivier, afterwards a distinguished author and now Governor of Jamaica; Henry Hyde Champion, the well-known Socialist; Henry Salt, an Eton master, married to Joynes' sister; and Edward Carpenter, the greatest living disciple of Walt. Whitman. After joining the Fabian Society, his constant associates were Hubert Bland, Graham Wallas, Sidney Olivier, and Sidney Webb; and through his Socialist activities he became a friend of William Morris, who was never a Fabian, but who maintained an attitude of the broadest tolerance toward all the Socialist sects. In their early days the Fabians were as insurrectionary in principle as the other Socialist bodies in London; not until the election of 1885 did the line of cleavage between the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation first clearly appear. At this time, the Fabian Society openly denounced the conduct of the Council of the Social-Democratic Federation in accepting money from the Tory party in payment of the election expenses of Socialist candidates as calculated to disgrace the Socialist movement in England. In the following two years, the Fabian Society took little or no part in the organization of insurrectionary projects in London; and finally, after many debates with that section of the Socialist League known as Anti-Communist, headed by Joseph Lane and William Morris, definitely discountenanced Kropotkinism among its members. Indeed, they finally demolished Anarchism in the abstract

"by grinding it between human nature and the theory of economic rent."

When Shaw first joined the Zeletical Society, he was the poorest of debaters; but he possessed the nerve to make a fool of himself. He practiced platform oratory incessantly, haunted hole-and-corner debates of all sorts, and seized every opportunity to make himself proficient in the art of public exposition of his views. He joined the Hampstead Historic Club, and there learned the theories of Marx through the necessity of elucidating them for his colleagues. He was one of a private circle of economists, which afterwards developed into the British Economic Association; at these meetings the social question was ignored, and the discussions were conducted solely on an economic basis. In this way Shaw became thoroughly grounded in economic theory; and in this way also, he learned supremely well the art of public speaking. As a speaker, Shaw far excelled William Morris; lacking the genius for oratory of a Charles Bradlaugh or an Annie Besant, he yet combined the imperturbability of a Sidney Webb with the wit of an Oscar Wilde. Ever on the alert, he is keen, incisive, and facile as a public speaker; he has every faculty about him when he mounts the platform. He combines the devastating wit of the Irishman with the penetrating logic of the Frenchman. He gave hundreds of lectures and addresses, and frequently debated in public in London and the provinces, for many years; and always at his own expense—for the Cause. His speech is always a challenge; he is never so happy as when the *popularis aura* is against him. "Call me disagreeable, only call me something," he vigorously clamors; "for then I have roused you from the stupid torpor and made you think a new thought!"

In principle and in practice, Shaw is a strictly constitutional Socialist; he has no faith in revolutionary measures, save as the very last resort against direct tyranny. Inspired by Philip Wicksteed's attack on Marx's Theory of Value, Shaw



Photo. by Ellis & Walery, London.

YORKE STEPHENS,

Who created the rôle of Captain Bluntschli in "Arms and the Man." Avenue Theater, London, April 21, 1894.

devoted a great deal of time to the study of the economic theories of the late Stanley Jevons; and with the aid of the Jevonian machinery ultimately succeeded in putting the Marxists to utter confusion on the question of Marx's value-theory.

Furthermore, he denied the existence of what is called the war of classes; he did everything possible to reduce Socialism to an intellectual rather than an emotional basis, to envisage it as a product of economic factors rather than of insurrection-

ism. His position is admirably summed up in the following passage:

"The Fabian declares quite simply that there is no revolution, that there exists no war of classes, that the salaried workers are far more imbued with conventions and prejudices and more *bourgeois* than the middle class itself; that there is not a single legal power democratically constituted, without excepting the House of Commons, which would be much more progressive were it not restrained by the

fear of the popular vote; that Karl Marx is no more infallible than Aristotle or Bacon, Ricardo or Buckle, and that, like them, he has committed errors now obvious to the casual student of economics; that a declared Socialist is, morally, neither better nor worse than a liberal or a conservative, nor a workman than a capitalist; that the workman can change the actual governmental system if he so desires, while the capitalist cannot do so, because the workman would not

permit him; that it is an absurd contradiction in terms to declare that the working classes are starved, impoverished and kept in ignorance by a system which loads the capitalist with food, education, and refinements of all sorts, and at the same time to pretend that the capitalist is a scoundrel harsh and sordid in spirit while the workman is a high-minded, enlightened and magnanimous philanthropist; that Socialism will eventuate in the gradual establishment of public rule and a public administration set into effective action by parliaments, assemblies, municipalities and common councils; and that none of these rules will lead to revolution nor occupy more place in the political program of the time than a law for the regulation of manufactures or the ballot



MME. MARIE SAVINA,

Russia's greatest actress. She created the rôle of Kitty Warren in "Mrs. Warren's Profession." The Imperial Theater, St. Petersburg, December 13, 1907.

would do now: in a word, that the part of the Socialist will be a definitely fixed political labor, to struggle not against the malevolent machinations of the capitalist, but against the stupidity, narrowness, in a word, the idiocy (in giving to the word its precise and original sense) of all classes, and particularly of the class which actually suffers most from the existing system."*

Bernard Shaw resumed his literary labors rather late in the 'eighties, and has been diligent as a man of letters ever since. Indeed, his career is an unusually checkered one, since he has, at one time or another, dipped into almost every phase of authorship. For a time, through the kind offices of Mr. William Archer, Shaw was enabled to write criticisms of books and pictures in *The World*; and at times also he wrote for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Truth*. In 1888, Shaw joined the editorial staff of *The Star* on the second day of its existence; but his Socialist utterances so alarmed the editor, the brilliant wit, T. P. O'Connor, that Shaw was given a column to fill with comments on current music—a subject harmless from the political point of view, at least. Here Shaw gave free vent to his eccentricity, and the paper fairly blazed with his jests and *hardiesses*, his follies and foibles, his quips and cranks. Dissembling his wide knowledge of music, especially modern music, by means of an air of irresponsible levity and outrageous flippancy, he gave no ground for suspicion of the existence in these delightful sallies of a solid substratum of genuine criticism. As "Corno di Bassetto," he vied with his colleague, A. B. Walkley, the dramatic critic for *The Star*, in furnishing rare entertainment for the readers of that first of London half-penny papers.

When Louis Engel resigned his position as musical critic on the staff of *The World*, the post fittingly fell to Bernard Shaw, who for long had slowly been saturating himself in the best music from Mozart to

**Les Illusions du Socialism*, by Bernard Shaw; *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, August, 1900.



Photo. by Kuntzmüller, Baden-Baden.

LILI PETRI.

The great Viennese actress. She introduced *Candida* to Vienna at the Deutsches Volkstheater, October 8, 1904.

Wagner, from London to Bayreuth. Until now, he had made no stir in the world of letters—few people knew who "C. di B." really was. But as a successor of Louis Engel, he entered into his new duties with zeal and zest, and created a new standard for *The World* by his brilliant and witty critiques. "Every man has an inalienable right to make a fool of himself," Victor Hugo once wrote; "but he should not abuse that right." Bernard Shaw stopped just short of abuse of his inalienable right. Like a street fakir, he announced the value of his wares with sublime audacity. He adopted the

haughty tone of superiority of a Wilde or a Whistler, although he did it always not only in the wittiest but also in the most good-natured way imaginable. The oculist who once examined his eyes seems to have been the unwitting cause of first diverting the rewards of literature in his direction. This ophthalmic specialist declared that Shaw's vision was "normal," at the same time explaining that the vision of nine-tenths of the people in the world is abnormal. Shaw at once leaped to the conclusion that his intellectual as well as his physical vision was normal, while that of the "damned, compact, liberal majority" was aberrant, myopic, astigmatic. Too conscientious to put on a pair of abnormal spectacles and aberr his vision to suit the taste of the astigmatic nine-tenths of the reading public, too poor to attempt transcripts of life in order to win the support of the one-tenth which, because of normal vision, was therefore as impecunious as himself, he turned critic and appeared before the British public as Punch. He had only to open his eyes and describe things exactly as they appeared to him, to become known as the most humorously extravagant paradox in London. He succeeded in demonstrating once again the old, old proposition that truth is stranger than fiction.

After a while, the exuberant "G. B. S." as he signed himself in *The World*, set out in search of new fields to conquer. When Mr. Frank Harris—who possessed the virtues, as well as some of the faults, of Mr. Edmund Yates—revived *The Saturday Review*, Shaw was chosen as dramatic critic, and characteristically broke the sacred tradition of anonymity, till then—1895—inviolable in its columns. In earlier years, Shaw had often spoken to deaf ears; for his was the strange language of a Robertson, a Gilbert, a Wilde. In all that he wrote there was that contradictoriness between manner and matter, between letter and spirit, so characteristic of the Celtic genius. Everything struck his mind at such an acute angle as to give forth prismatic refractions of daz-

zling and many-hued brilliancy. His first great period began as critic on *The World*, when he zealously lauded Wagner, daringly defied the academic school of British music, and gaily set himself up as the infallible critic of the musical world. And now as dramatic critic on *The Saturday Review*, he achieved in a few years the reputation of the most brilliant journalistic writer in England.

Like Taine, he realized the important truth that those things we agree to call abnormal, are in reality normal, and appear quite naturally in the ordinary course of events. Accordingly, he devised a now well-known formula for readable journalism: "Spare no labor to find out the right thing to say; and then say it with the most exasperating levity, as if it were the first thing that would come into any one's head." He expressed the belief that good journalism is much rarer and more important than good literature; and by his own rare and unique work he gave a practical proof of the truth of his conviction. He led a magnificent crusade in behalf of Ibsen and in defiance of Shakespeare. If, on the one hand, he praised Ibsen to the skies for the intellectual content of his plays, on the other hand he upbraided Shakespeare for his lamentable poverty in the matter of philosophy. If he saw in Ibsen a disheartened optimist—disagreeably intent upon improving the world, he saw in Shakespeare only a vulgar pessimist, with *vanitas vanitatum* eternally upon his lips. If Ibsen not infrequently jarred his sensibilities with the ultra-realism of his clinical demonstrations, Shakespeare gave him unfeigned pleasure by the music of his language—his "word-music" as it has been called—his delightful fancy, his large perception of the comic, and his incomparable art as a story-teller. When Shaw finished his dramatic career, he had the gratification of the knowledge that while Ibsen was not popular on the English stage, he was nevertheless recognized by the highest authorities as the greatest of living dramatists. And he

boasted on severing his connection with *The Saturday Review*, that whereas, when he began his work as a dramatic critic, Shakespeare was a divinity and a bore, now he was at least a fellow-creature!

At last, in 1898, he severed his connection with *The Saturday Review* and became a dramatist by profession. He had, by dogmatic assertion, iteration and reiteration of his merits as wit, raconteur and paradoxer, so he declares, actually succeeded in establishing his literary prestige for all time. He might dodder and dote, platitudinize and pot-boil; but, once convinced, the dull but honest British intelligence could not be shaken. He had become the jester at the court of King Demos—the confessor of the sovereign public. And that public rewarded him at last with eager appreciation of all his sallies and *bon mots*. And yet it can hardly be said that the public really understood this versatile and many-sided talent. Shaw was one of those restless spirits who are out of patience with the existing status, not only in the drama, but in the world at large. His wit alone saved him from the pillory; if the British public had really understood him, as he once said, they would have made him drink the hemlock. An Irishman, he pretended to patriotism neither for the land of his birth nor for the nation to which it owed its ruin. A devout humanitarian, he detested warfare of any kind. A vegetarian after the order of Shelley and Wagner, he abhorred the slaughter of animals, in sport or in the butcher's yard. An enthusiastic Ibsenist, he followed his master in having no respect for popular morality, no admiration for popular heroics, no belief in popular religion. An art critic, he had no taste for popular art. A Socialist—to sum the whole matter up—he was out of patience with the lagging snail-pace at which the world moved. His keen vision penetrated the veil of popular deceit and discerned the marred lineaments it concealed.

"It would be manifestly unfair to Bernard Shaw," I once wrote, "to sup-



Photo. by Mocsigay, Hamburg.

ROBERT NHIL,

As Captain Bluntschli in "Helden" ("Arms and the Man"). Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Hamburg, April 16, 1904.

pose that he was merely a skeptic or a cynic in these matters. Quite the contrary. It was simply the result of his 'normal' vision: he saw right while the world squinted. It was not mere prejudice, but a difference of view-point. His personal angle of vision was more acute than that of the illuded majority. The consensus of opinion, the crystallized judgment, the established view weighed with him not at all. The *dicta* of the literary cliques, the voice of literary fashion, the perfunctory judgments of narrow literary pontiffs—all rang false to his ears. Authority in the person of the select has more than often, in his opinion, proved the stumbling block in the path of real genius. 'It is from men of established

literary reputation,' he insists, 'that we learn that William Blake was mad; that Shelley was spoiled by living in a low set; that Robert Owen was a man who did not know the world; that Ruskin is incapable of understanding political economy; that Zola is a mere blackguard, and that Ibsen is Zola with a wooden leg. The great musician, accepted by his unskilled listener, is vilified by his fellow-musician. It was the musical culture of Europe which pronounced Wagner the inferior of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer.'"

The history of Bernard Shaw's arduous and long-continued efforts to win the suffrage of the British theater-going public furnishes one of the most interesting episodes in the history of modern drama. That story is wittily and penetratingly told by Mr. Shaw himself in the prefaces to his volumes of plays, entitled *Plays, Pleasant and Unpleasant*. Beginning in 1885, in collaboration with Mr. William Archer, upon *Widowers' Houses*, Mr. Shaw abandoned the task until 1892, when the newly-inaugurated Independent Theater, led by Mr. J. T. Grein, urged him to produce something to usher in the new era. His plays, written in quick succession—*Widowers' Houses*, *The Philanderer*, and *Mrs. Warren's Profession*—achieved little more than a *succès de scandale*, only the first actually gaining the stage of the Independent Theater. *Arms and the Man*, produced in 1894 at the Avenue Theater, and warmly praised by William Archer and A. B. Walkley, was a popular success, in a certain restricted sense, but a marked financial failure. One after the other, Bernard Shaw wrote plays of dazzling and astounding merit—*You Never Can Tell*, *The Man of Destiny*, *Candida*, *The Devil's Disciple*, *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, *Cæsar and Cleopatra*—only to have the larger West End theaters of London refuse them in turn. As Sir Charles Wyndham, the great English comedian, said, Shaw was twenty years ahead of his age. But the distinguished American actor, Mr. Richard Mansfield, produced *Arms and the*

Man and *The Devil's Disciple* in America with distinguished artistic success, though the former was not a success in a financial way. The performances Shaw's plays had in England for a number of years were desultory—such as single productions by that institution of high art and high ideals, the London Stage Society, short provincial runs, occasional productions at small theaters by such talented players as Forbes-Robertson, Murray Carson and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Charrington. In America, in the season of 1903-04, Mr. Arnold Daly produced *Candida* and *The Man of Destiny* with astounding success; a Shaw renaissance followed, eventuating in the successful production of various plays of Shaw, conspicuous among these being the triumph of Robert Loraine in *Man and Superman*. Also, late in 1902, began the Shavian invasion of Europe with the publication of Herr Siegfried Trebitsch's translation of three of Shaw's best-known plays. Dr. George Brandes welcomed George Bernard Shaw to the continental stage, and praised him as the most advanced of contemporary British dramatists. Hermann Bahr, the distinguished Viennese critic and dramatist, hailed Shaw as a writer of large caliber and European range. *The Man of Destiny* and *Candida* were produced by Max Reinhardt at the Neues Theater, with Agnes Sorma in the leading rôles, in March and April, 1903. On February 25th of the same year, *The Devil's Disciple* was produced in Vienna at the Raimund Theater, with Herr Carl Wiene in the title-rôle. By slow steps, Bernard Shaw's plays began to take their place on the German stage, being produced in repertory at a number of the most artistic institutions in German Europe; *Candida* in Vienna, with Lili Petri in the title-rôle, and in many other places; *Arms and the Man* in Berlin, Vienna and elsewhere; *The Devil's Disciple*, *The Man of Destiny*, *You Never Can Tell*, and *Cæsar and Cleopatra* at different places, with greater or lesser success. *Arms and the Man* has

also been produced in Copenhagen, and *The Devil's Disciple* in Buda Pesth, both with marked success. To detail all the productions of Shaw's plays on the Continent is quite beyond the scope of this paper. Authorized translations of his works into virtually every language of Europe are now going forward. His plays have recently been produced in Brussels, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Stockholm, Madrid, Helsingfors, Buenos Ayres, etc. It is enough to say that Bernard Shaw has been welcomed abroad as a world-dramatist, and is ranked with Ibsen, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Strindberg and Schnitzler. He is the most popular dramatist in the world to-day.

In England, Shaw made his first strong appeal to the great public with *John Bull's Other Island*, in November, 1904, and later in February, 1905, produced at the Royal Court Theater, London. At last the most cultured class of English society, headed by King Edward and Mr. Balfour, the English Premier, began to flock to see his plays; and in succession, the greater number of his plays have since been produced, through the meritorious enterprise of Mr. J. H. Leigh, Mr. J. E. Vedrenne, and the distinguished actor-manager, Mr. H. Granville Barker. *Major Barbara* was one of the chief successes of the London season of 1905-6; *The Doctor's Dilemma* was vehemently discussed by the critics; and his last play, *Getting Married*, although not a popular success, set all the critics by the ears. The critics and the English public have at last, in the jargon of now, "come down"; they have learned to accept Shaw as he is, and have at last desisted from their efforts to force him into compliance with standards alien to the spirit of his genius.

Out of patience with the low state into which the theater in England had fallen, Mr. Shaw began his career as a dramatist by declaring that the existing popular drama is quite out of the question for cultivated people who are accustomed to use their brains. He reached the firm conclusion that the drama should create the

theater, instead of the reverse—the prevailing order of the day. Like that poet of the Celtic Renaissance, Mr. William Butler Yeats, he declared that the average audience comes to the theater—the “theater of commerce”—for every motive in the world save the sole valid reason—to



Photo. by Binder, Frankfurt.

HEDWIG LANGE,

Who created the rôle of Judith Anderson in “Ein Teufelskern” (“The Devil's Disciple”), Raimund Theater, Vienna, February 25, 1903.



Photo, by Dupont-Eméra, Brussels.

MME. ALICE ARCHAINBAUD

As *Candida*. Théâtre du Parc, Brussels, February 8, 1907. This was the first production of a Shaw play in the French language.

be thrilled, moved, made to think. No one more than Mr. Shaw deploras the present vogue of the musical comedy or the puerile inanities of modern plays in which the plot is usually "hatched by the stage setting." He firmly believed that no regeneration could come so long as the drama of the day is written "for the theater instead of from its own inner necessity." As now constituted, modern dramas, in Mr. Shaw's view, may be classified under three heads: "neurotic, erotic, and tommy-rotic."

With all the asceticism of a Puritan of the strictest sect, Shaw railed against the prevalence of the sexual in modern

dramatic art. The amoristic superstitions of the *bourgeoisie* made him "see red." He protested with the deepest fervor against the eternal glorification of Love, the Divine; and scoffed with ill-concealed disgust at the evasion of the real problem lying at the basis of plays of which Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is the type example. He resolved to do all in his power to relegate emotion to a subsidiary position, and to project intellect to the fore. He occupies the position of the *spectator ab extra*; and always sees the drama as a conflict—whether of intellect or will. He manipulated his characters with great dexterity, and makes them the mouthpieces for the most modern ideas. In Shaw's view, the drama can never be the same again since Ibsen has lived and written. The drama can never be anything more than the play of ideas. With this *idée fixe*, Mr. Shaw gives to many of his plays the character of a social thesis. He forces you to draw conclusions; his plays always *donnent à penser furieusement*. The play, the play, of course, with Shaw as with Hamlet, is the thing; but by the play we must understand the play and interplay of opposing views of life and standards of conduct. If he always sees his characters in a situation, it is a situation charged with intellectual rather than emotional, content.

However iconoclastic he may be in such matters, in point of dramatic construction he has frankly bowed to convention. Clever artist and keen analyst that he is, he has fully realized the necessity of working in the manner of tradition. Like Molière, he utilizes material wherever he finds it; and adopts the devices of Robertson, of W. S. Gilbert, and of Meilhac and Halevy without the slightest compunction. The conventional agreements of the stage, the customs, tricks and devices of stage-craft, he accepts without a qualm. The incidents, plot, construction and technical details of drama he turns to his own ends, however, giving them novelty, piquancy and charm by the essentially modern use he makes of them.

"I have always cast my plays in the ordinary practical comedy form in use at all the theaters," he once said, "and far from taking an unsympathetic view of the popular demand for fun, for fashionable dress, for a pretty scene or two, a little music, or even for a great ordering of drinks by people with an expensive air from an—if possible—comic waiter, I was more than willing to show that the drama can humanize these things as easily as they, in undramatic hands, can dehumanize the drama." In these matters alone, which, after all, are purely superficial, does he bow to convention and confess that he is in reality a very old-fashioned playwright.

To witness a play of Bernard Shaw's is like watching a gambler tossing up a coin: you never know whether it is going to come up "heads or tails." Shaw is a master of paradox; his law is the law of contrasts. He studies things from an unconventional view-point, and always turns for our inspection the obverse of the medal. His dialogue scintillates with the inverted truisms, the half-truths, the dubious axioms of a Whistler, a Chesterton, or a Wilde. He respects life too deeply to discuss it seriously; and he enunciates great truths with the comical air of an irresponsible charlatan. He handles ideas as dexterously as a juggler handles glass balls; and we are

always in fine doubt as to his meaning. It is sometimes difficult for the uninitiated onlooker to decide whether he is a cheap quack or a profound philosopher.

And yet, save for rare lapses, Shaw is imbued with the genuine dramatic instinct. To take sides in a dramatic wrangle he recognizes as fatal. He is fair and just to each one of his characters; and puts into his mouth the ideas and sentiments appropriate to his nature and disposition. Every one is allowed to have his say, and to speak out his thought without disguise. "I do not disclaim the fullest responsibility for the opinions of all my characters, pleasant and unpleasant,"



BERNARD SHAW AND HIS BIOGRAPHER, ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Taken by Mrs. Shaw at Ayot Street, Lawrence, Hertfordshire, England.

Mr. Shaw once said. "They are all right from their several points of view; and their points of view are, for the dramatic moment, mine also." Mr. Shaw is profoundly skeptical in regard to the existence of an absolutely right point of view; nobody who does not cherish a like skepticism can, in his opinion, either be a dramatist, or indeed anything else that turns upon a knowledge of human nature. It must be apparent that, ideologue though he be, Shaw is not a mere preacher. The dramatist is intent upon drawing things as they really are; the preacher is concerned primarily with things as he would have them to be. Shaw is never so inartistic as to point a moral to adorn a tale. Shaw sets the stage, puts the characters in motion, and informs them with the spirit of their parts; you do the rest. If there is a moral to be drawn from the play, that is your affair.

His chief virtue, as well as his chief fault, consists in the superabundance of his ideas. He is ever throwing open the window to let in a fresh current of ideas. His is *l'école du plein air*; and he cannot have too much intellectual ventilation. A Socialist of the most advanced ideas, a Fabian of the Fabians, he is an outpost thinker on the firing-line of modern thought. As a philosophic thinker, he is in direct line of descent, not from John Stuart Mill, Tyndall, Darwin, Huxley and Spencer, but from Wagner, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and the German philosophers. "To Life, the force behind the man," he once wrote, "intellect is a necessity, for without it he blunders into death." To Shaw, philosophic content is the touchstone of real greatness in art. Bunyan is greater than Shakespeare, Blake than Lamb, Ibsen than Dickens, Shaw than Pinero—such is his point of view. Consequently his plays have something of the rigidity of theses—sometimes, even, are "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." His intellect is so militant, his psychic prevision so acute, that his plays suffer not infrequently from the malady of the *à priori*; they are sometimes even

stricken down with what Wagner called the incurable disease of thought.

One last word is necessary in order to explain the nature of Mr. Shaw's attitude toward modern society. Shaw is an embodiment of the *Zeitgeist*; he is nothing if not a child of modernity. Early in life, he learned the lessons of the hypocrisy of society, the conspiracy of the well-fed, the smug complacency of the orthodox and the respectable. He saw around him on all sides the blighting and devastating effects of illuding, short-sighted idealism. He conceived public opinion to be the will of the ignorant majority as opposed to that of the discerning few. He placed his hopes in the saving remnant—in that minority which Ibsen believed to be always right. All progress involves as its first condition, in his opinion, the willingness of the pioneer to make a fool of himself. He was not afraid to make the sacrifice. He became an intellectual revolutionist even at the cost of becoming the laughing stock of his fellow-men. He realized the vital necessity of smashing some of the idols to which the world so abjectly bows down. He found the world wandering in a maze of illusion; and he realized only too well, from his experience as a Socialist, that when reality finally presents itself to men who have been nourished on dramatic illusions, they no longer recognize it as reality. In the sphere of religion and morals, Shaw found the reign of illusion supreme. It is his own conviction that men do things because they want to do them, and not at all because they ought to do them. Afterwards, they invent *ex post facto* excuses for their conduct. Consequently, as a dramatist, Shaw has sought to tear away the veil of hypocrisy from off the face of society. He has haled the seven cardinal virtues before the bar of his cynical realism, and exposed the shams which they conceal. He has tapped the moral coin of the era, and found it a base counterfeit. He shows the fraudulency of popular heroism, the insincerity of love, the hypocrisy of the morality of custom, the licentiousness of

the institution of marriage. He stands forth, *par excellence*, as the *advocatus diaboli*—the exponent of the “higher” morality, the champion of the nameless heroes, the “truly” virtuous, the “genuinely” religious. Against the ideal of duty he set the idea of freedom. To the ideal of heroism he opposed the practicality of common sense. Romantic sentiment he would replace by scientific natural history. His fundamental philosophy is crystalized in his perfect epigram: “The golden rule is that there is no golden rule.”

To many of his critics, the failings of Bernard Shaw are the uncontrolled use of great power, his excogitated formulas and Socialistic bias, his lack of seriousness, his relentless iconoclasm, and the excessive and exaggerated brilliancy of his talent. To others his virtues are the modernity of his ideas, his power of divination into the secrets of heart and soul, his inimitable style, his amazing cleverness and phenomenal originality. The estimates are sadly at variance: Shaw has always defied the labeling process. The German

scholar derides him as a colossal charlatan, ascribing to him the unpardonable fault of too often laughing at himself; or else lauds him as a figure of European significance. The English critic writes his name “Pshaw!” and pricks his weak spot with Archer’s damning phrase, “bloodless erotics,” or else hails him as the only real British dramatist. The American denounces him as a “second-hand Brummagem Ibsen”; or else, in enthusiastic appreciation, pronounces him a greater dramatist than Shakespeare, a greater humorist than Ibsen. It is just within the range of possibility that Mr. Shaw may go down in literary history as The Dramatist of Donnybrook Fair. I should prefer to hazard the prophecy that the day is not far distant when the world will conclude to agree with that notable English critic, Gilbert Keith Chesterton, in the opinion that George Bernard Shaw is the most thoroughly brilliant and typical man of this decade.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE THE BASIS OF FREEDOM.

BY DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

IT IS true that we are a free people in name only. It is true that in fact we are no freer than if we had a king over us, and a powerful nobility. But it is also true that our possession of the power of freedom, of the political machinery of freedom, makes us better off than if we still had that first step to take. If we were on our way down, this would not be so; but we are on our way up.

Freedom does not come from without, but from within. It is first of all a state of mind, an attitude of thought. We used to have more actual freedom than we have now; but it was a freedom insecurely based, and it was swept away. It was insecurely based because it was merely a

sentiment. We did not understand what freedom meant; we did not understand how to keep it; we did not understand that it had a practical value of the highest kind, and was not a beautiful ideal only. We did not understand that freedom meant a better house to live in, better clothes for our families, better food on the table, more leisure for amusement and improvement, more money in our pockets, better education and better prospects for our children. We did not understand that when we neglected public affairs, did not take the trouble to inform ourselves upon public questions, turned our government over to the politicians, voted by sentiment and passion instead of by the hardest

kind of hard common sense, we were cutting down our incomes, adding to our expenses, cheating ourselves out of profits, out of leisure, out of fun. And we do not understand it yet.

But a vague sort of an idea that there is really some connection between politics and the distribution of the results of toil is beginning to permeate our skulls—not by any means a clear idea, but simply a vague glimmer. More and more every election, the politicians who are the agents of the plutocracy, rub it into the people that "If you do n't vote for us business will be bad, factories will close, wages will be cut down, and the ranks of the unemployed will be swelled." And more and more the masses of the people believe. And that is well. Those of us who wish to see things get better are calling upon the people to "take high moral ground regardless of self-interest"—and are steadily losing elections to politicians who appeal directly and brutally to selfish self-interest. How admirable is the universal scheme of things, whereby all, especially the bad, works out for good! The idealists, floating among the clouds and forgetting that the family has to be sheltered, fed and clothed, and that those are ever the prime considerations with the human animal, neglect their duty of practically educating the people. And, lo and behold, the politicians of privilege, the enemies of freedom and progress, do the idealists' neglected work for them!

And slowly, in spite of the idealists, in spite of all the well-meaning worthies who are constantly trying to divorce morals and practical wisdom, as if the two were not ultimately and indissolubly one—in spite of all efforts to prevent people from learning that when they vote for what they fancy is their immediate self-interest, they vote for their immediate robbery and oppression—slowly, in spite of all these adverse forces, the politicians of privilege are teaching the people to connect politics and prosperity. Next thing, the people will be really thinking; and then—yes, then, they will begin to demand of their

politicians specific, clear, definite performances for making them better off, for giving them a larger share of the fruits of their toil.

The basis of all tyranny is the dependence of the masses. So long as the masses of a nation are economically dependent, just so long is freedom a delusion or a dream. The man who is dependent upon the will of another for a living is not and cannot be free. You can give him education, you can give him the suffrage, you can give him initiative and referendum and all the other good things. But he will remain a dependent, a subject, an industrial serf. And it does not matter much whether the living he gets from some master is a dollar a day or a thousand dollars a day. And it does not matter much whether he has to be dependent on some one master or has choice of a score of masters. His servitude is simply better or worse disguised, has pretense of self-respect less or more plausible.

The basis of freedom—the only foundation that is not shaky or rotten—is economic independence. If we are to have freedom in this modern world, we must recreate the conditions on which the freedom of every people that has been free rested, the conditions on which our own freedom of the period between the war of 1812 and the war of 1861 rested. We must establish conditions which will enable any and every American citizen willing to work to get work without any dependence upon any master whatsoever, to get work as his right.

To be free is the prime aim of every people worthy the name of man. For that purpose are governments established—to maintain the freedom of a free people, or to aid an aspiring people to achieve freedom. Since the economic independence of the citizen is the prime requisite of freedom, as we of the modern world understand that word, it is the prime mission of the government, which the people have established, to see to it that every citizen can be economically independent.

In times of great stress no one disputes that the state ought to see to it that the people do not starve. For a Galveston flood, Congress appropriates relief funds, and so on and so on. But to an enlightened mind it is obvious that in the struggle to keep and to get freedom, the dearest, the most valuable possession a man can have, there is always a time of stress. We have long since recognized that public education is a necessity, is therefore a duty of the state. Why? Because it is one of the requisites of freedom that the electorate be enlightened, and free public education is the best the state can do toward achieving that end. But education is not the first, but the second requisite to gaining and keeping freedom. The prime requisite is, as has been said, the economic independence of the elector, the citizen. First, economic independence. Second, public education.

We have got the second requisite—not in full measure, but in large measure that is ever larger. Now for the prime requisite.

That is, now for an elastic program of necessary public works upon which any citizen can obtain employment for the asking and can keep that employment so long as he is willing to do eight hours' work a day. Not one month in the year, or six; not one or two or four days in the week; but six days in every week of the year—and at a decent living wage. Not

at the kind of work that suits him or her best—at least not at first. But at whatever there is to do that is within his or her strength. If he or she can find a better job with a private employer, well and good. But make it so that no free-born American citizen has to beg for employment, has to humiliate himself to get it, has, perhaps, to go without employment.

There are many objections to this proposal—many grave objections. So are there objections to everything that ought to be done in this world where nothing is exactly as it should be. But all these objections are overruled by the stern law of necessity. You answer them all when you face the unanswerable question, How can a people be free, how can a man be free, if it or he is economically dependent?

So clearly is economic independence vital to freedom, the very blood and air of freedom, that it is quite safe to predict that the proposal here made will in some form be adopted—sooner or later. The sooner it is adopted, the sooner will conditions begin rapidly to improve. And until it is adopted, progress will be slow and fitful.

We hear a great deal of loose talk about the dignity of labor. Most of it is sheer tommy-rot. But until labor is dignified—all honest labor—we shall not go very far. Let us bestir ourselves then, and make it so.

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

New York City.

A HIGHLY-EFFICIENT STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

IN SPITE of the very substantial successes achieved by the state railways of Germany and Belgium, most railroad authorities are now agreed that their systems of railroad administration are very far from being the best that could have been devised, and consequently, that the successes achieved by them might have been very much greater had their form of organization been more satisfactory. Perhaps the most undesirable feature about their administrative machinery is the unwholesome fusion and confusion of the finances of the railroads with those of the state or national governments. In Germany, as a result of this mistaken policy, the profits of the roads, instead of being devoted exclusively to such purposes as the lowering of rates, the raising of wages, the increasing of the efficiency of the service, and the liquidation of the bonded indebtedness of the roads, are diverted to a large extent, into the treasuries of the various German states to lighten the general burden of taxation. For instance, the single state of Prussia in 1905 had a net profit on its railroad of over \$125,000,000—which means that it levied a tax on the business of the country to that extent.

Owing to a wise provision incorporated into the Belgian law of May 1, 1834, specifying the three objects to which profits should be devoted, *i. e.*, operating and general maintenance expenses, the payment of interest charges and the regular liquidation of the bonded indebtedness, no attempt has ever been made in Belgium to increase the profits of the roads beyond the requirements of an efficient railroad administration. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that no clear line of cleavage has been drawn between the nature and functions of the political state

and those of the industrial state, Belgian methods of state railroad management have always been more or less hampered by governmental red tape and routine. In the light of these facts, it is encouraging to note that the general tendency not only of European legislation, but of the judicial decisions of the leading continental countries is toward the recognition of a fundamental and far-reaching distinction between the political state, which establishes and enforces the law of the land, and the business state, which by entering the field of industry and commerce, renders itself as amenable to that law as is the humblest individual citizen.

The three latest European countries to undertake the nationalization of their railroads, Switzerland, Italy and France, have all incorporated into their systems of management this new and important distinction between the sphere of the general government and that of its industrial adjuncts. The general principles upon which are based this modern conception of the proper form of organization for a state railroad administration was set forth in the message issued March 27, 1897, by the Swiss Federal Council which says:

"In order that the state railroads may realize our expectations and serve the economic interests of the entire country, it is necessary that their administration should have as independent a position as possible in the federal administration. On the one hand there is danger lest an organization so vast and with such numerous ramifications become, when centralized, an instrument subject to abuses for the attainment of political ends. On the other hand, we must see to it that, with all the power it is bound to wield, the railroad administration does not come to form a state within a state, and that no conflicts

arise between it and the Federal Council. If, in order to achieve good results, the railroad management demands the greatest possible concentration of all its forces, nevertheless it must be so organized as to be in conformity with our political development, which is incompatible with every species of bureaucracy, and never loses sight of the interests of the individual cantons and communes."

In order to prevent any abuse of the discretionary powers, of the new and largely autonomous state railroad administration, the Federal Council and the Federal Assembly kept in their own hands certain important prerogatives, while at the same time retaining all the rights of general supervision and control over it which they had exercised formerly over the private corporation roads. As the law finally passed the Federal Chambers, somewhat less independence was granted to the state railway management than had been the original intention of the Federal Council, but even as weakened by amendments giving to the Federal Chambers more of a hand in the direct management of the roads than was necessary, it nevertheless marked a distinct advance over any previous legislation of this nature by any European country.

SWISS STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

In conformity with these principles, the Swiss railroad law of October 15, 1897, providing for the purchase and operation of the railroads by the confederation, contained the following provisions:

(Article 8). "The accounts of the federal railroad shall be separated from those of the other branches of the Federal Administration, and so kept that the exact financial situation can be determined at any time.

"The net income of the Federal railroads is destined, first of all, for the payment of interest and for the liquidation of the railroad debt.

"Twenty per cent. of the surplus net profits shall be paid into a special reserve fund, to be kept separate from the rest of

the assets of the Federal railroads, until this fund contains, including its capitalized interest, the sum of 50,000,000 francs. Eighty per cent. must be employed, in behalf of the Federal railroads, in perfecting and alleviating the conditions of transportation and notably in reducing proportionally passenger and freight rates, and in extending the Swiss railroads—particularly its secondary lines."

Article 13 of the law shows the extent of the powers over railway administration retained by the general government.

(Article 13). "The following provisions constitute the regulations for the higher management of the administration confided to the Federal authorities.

"Confided:

"A—To the Federal Assembly,

"1. The ratification of operations relating to loans and to the program of liquidation.

"2. The ratification of contracts relating to the acquisition of other lines, as well as to the reassumption of the operation of secondary roads and to the substitution of the Confederation for the main lines in the operating contracts arranged between the main lines mentioned in Article 2 and the secondary roads.

"3. Legislation establishing the general principles governing rates.

"4. The elaboration of laws having for their object the acquisition or the construction of railroads.

"5. Legislation concerning salaries.

"6. Approval of the annual budget.

"7. The examination and approval of the annual account and of the report of the management.

"B—To the Federal Council.

"1. The preparation of regulations governing the execution of the present law.

"2. The nomination:

"a. Of twenty-five members of the Central Administrative Council (Article 16).

"b. Of the members of the Central Board and of the local boards of directors (Articles 23 and 33).

"c. Of four members of each Local

Administrative Council (Article 29).

"3. The presentation to the Federal Chambers:

"a. Of the annual budget, statement and report.

"b. Of propositions relating to the reassumption of the operation of secondary roads, and to the substitution of the confederation for the main lines, in the operating contracts arranged between these main lines, mentioned in Article 2, and the secondary roads (Article 5).

"c. Of propositions relating to the construction of new lines and to the acquisition of existing lines.

"4. The powers of control which the Federal Council actually possesses over private railways, in so far as these powers still have any reason for existence in connection with the Federal railroads.

"5. The approval of the regulation of the pension and relief funds for the permanent functionaries and employés.

"6. The elaboration of prescriptions relating to the formations of such relief funds."

ITALIAN STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

That the same conception of an autonomous, responsible and businesslike state railway administration, subject to strict control on the part of the general government, likewise guided the framers of the Italian law of July 7, 1907, is made evident by Articles 3 and 36 of that law.

Article 3. "The independent administration of the state railways, under the high direction and responsibility of the Minister of Public Works, shall have the direct management of all matters relating to the operation of the railway system and of the navigation service, mentioned in the preceding articles, and in the exercise of these functions, is charged with its proper budget.

"The Minister of Public Works and in those parts which concern him, the Minister of the Treasury, shall ascertain by means of inspections the regularity of the service and of the management.

"The regulations for such inspections

shall be fixed by executive orders proposed by the Ministers of Public Works and of the Treasury, passed upon by the State Council; approved by the Cabinet Council and sanctioned by royal decree."

"Article 36. The Compartmental Cashier's offices (*casse compartimentali*) collect the available revenue of the stations and all other ordinary and extraordinary income and provide for the payment of expenditures upon direct or service drafts or drafts for advances (*mandati o diretti o a disposizione o di anticipazione*), and the payment on account of the pay-rolls issued by the Administration and certified by the Central or Compartmental audit offices.

"The amounts exceeding the daily needs of the cashier's office are deposited with the 'Banca d'Italia.'

"These amounts shall be kept on special interest bearing current account distinct from that of the State Treasury's on the terms proposed by the Minister of the Treasury in accord with the Minister of Public Works and approved by royal decree.

"The Director-General shall have the power to draw upon said special current account for the needs of the railway service by means of drafts certified by the representative of the public treasury at the treasury section of the bank in accordance with the by-laws.

"The regulations for the railway treasury service and those relating to the collection, custody and deposit of the moneys shall be fixed by the by-laws."

FRENCH STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

In like matter, the French government, in its argument in favor of the recent purchase of the Western Railroad, laid great emphasis on this idea of giving to the new state railroad management sufficient financial and administrative independence to enable it to operate the road in the most efficient and businesslike way possible.

"The administrative organization," it announces, "to which will be confided

**Projet de loi sur le régime financier et l'organisation administrative des chemins de fer de l'Etat, p. 2.*

the task of operating the new state line, including the old Western road, must possess the autonomy and the suppleness which are indispensable to the efficient management of a large industry; it must, furthermore, be provided with financial powers which will enable it, by the issuance of bonds, to raise the funds necessary to provide for all expenditures other than those of actual 'operating expenses.'"

In complete harmony with this fundamental distinction between the political state and the industrial state, is a law voted by the French Chamber of Deputies and Senate without a dissenting voice on the twenty-first and thirtieth of March, 1905. Up to this time, the employés of the state railroad in France, when they got into a conflict with the administration were required to submit to the special jurisdiction of administrative tribunals. In other words, they were regarded as "state officials" in the strictest sense of the word, while the employés of the private companies, on the other hand, had the advantage of being judged like all other ordinary laboring men, by the ordinary tribunals. The law above mentioned changed the status of the employés of the state railroad and placed them in the same category as the employés of private railroads or of other ordinary industrial enterprises. This law, which contains only one article, is as follows:

"The ordinary tribunals are competent to deal with whatever controversies may arise between the state railroad administration and its employés as to labor agreements."

JUDICIAL DECISIONS AS TO THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE INDUSTRIAL STATE.

An interesting case arose in France a few years ago in connection with an actress, Mademoiselle Sylviac, who, losing her patience one day, after trying in vain to get a satisfactory explanation of the unsatisfactory telephone service she was receiving, made some insulting remarks to a telephone employé. As a result her telephone was disconnected,

although she had already paid for it in advance, and suit was brought against her for having insulted a "public official," on the grounds that the telephone service was a public monopoly. As Mademoiselle Sylviac resolutely fought her case in the courts, the press encouraged her, a large number of telephone subscribers rallied around her, and her case suddenly developed into an event of national importance. At this stage of the proceedings, however, the administration weakened, restored to her the use of her telephone, and finally offered, in case she would apologize, to withdraw the suit against her. But this she refused to do, and in the end won her case in the courts.

In speaking of this matter, Deputy Marcel Sembdat in his report for 1905 on "the budget of the post-office, telegraphs and telephones," placed himself on record as holding absolutely to the view that, "The state, when it takes over the monopoly of an industry, ought never to aggravate but always to ameliorate the condition of the workers in this industry, as well as to improve the service offered to the public for which it is run."

The question involved was simply this: Is an insult addressed to an employé of an industrial adjunct to the government more reprehensible, and should it incur severer penalties than an insult addressed to a private individual? The court held that while if the insult had been addressed to a functionary representing the sovereign political government it would have been especially reprehensible and punishable according to the law governing such cases, but that the employés of the *industrial state* were to be considered as upon the same footing as employés of a private corporation, and that for their protection they must have recourse to the same laws which sufficed to protect all other private individuals.

Another similar case in connection with a M. Belloche, though less interesting than the case just described, was rather more important because M. Belloche in his first trial was condemned to pay a hundred

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* *Projet de loi sur le régime financier et l'organisation administrative des chemins de fer de l'Etat*, p. 2.

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Another similar case in connection with a M. Belloche, though less interesting than the case just described, was rather more important because M. Belloche in his first trial was condemned to pay a hundred

francs' fine. This decision, however, was reversed by the Court of Appeals of Paris, and this reversal was finally confirmed by the Court of Cassation (the Supreme Court) of France, on the eighteenth of February, 1905.* Thus was established, by the highest tribunal in the land, the principle of the essential difference between the legal status of the political state and of the industrial state. The court enunciated this principle in the following words:

"Let it be understood that the employés in the employ of the telephone service are not invested with any particle of the public authority, that notably the woman N., whose duty it was to arrange the telephone connection for subscribers who requested it, is not, even though her work is a matter of public interest, either an agent with whom is deposited the public authority or a citizen to whom has been assigned the administration of a public service."

A recent decision of the French *Conseil d'Etat*, rendered January 20, 1905,† is in entire agreement with the decisions of the Court of Cassation above mentioned.

"The Council of State," says *Le Temps*,‡ "during its last session, very clearly defined the legal character of the state railway administration.

"The Minister of Public Works had issued a decision declaring a coal dealer, Mr. Paternoster, debtor to the Treasury for the sum of 50,000 francs, for failing to deliver a consignment of coal which he had contracted to supply to the state railway.

"But the Council of State declared that the state railway administration is invested with a legal personality distinct from that of the state and that it alone is qualified, if it thinks it has grounds therefor, to demand reparation for the injury which one of its contractors has inflicted upon it. The Minister can neither substitute himself for this administration in order to attempt to recover the damages which the

dealer might owe the railway administration nor make use of the powers which belong to him as the representative of the state, in order to declare this dealer a debtor to the Treasury.

"The decree of the Minister of Public Works was therefore annulled."

A recent decision of a Bavarian court§ has an important bearing on the principle involved in this comparatively modern differentiation of governmental functions. Some Bavarian citizens holding bonds of a railroad which had formerly belonged to a private company, but which had afterward passed into the hands of the state of Austria, got into a legal controversy with the Austrian railroad management. One of these Bavarians, basing his action upon a judgment which had been granted to him in a similar dispute with the original railroad company, demanded and secured the seizure of some locomotives and freight-cars which had formerly belonged to the private company, but which at this time belonged to the Austrian state system. The Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs raised the question of the competence of the Bavarian tribunal which had rendered the former decision. He contended that while this decision undoubtedly was a sound one as against the former private company, that nevertheless, it could not be made to apply to the sovereign state of Austria, which had taken over the properties of that company. A sovereign state, he insisted, could not be subject to the decisions of a foreign tribunal, as such subjection would constitute an inadmissible limitation of its sovereignty. Here the issue was joined on the most vital point that could have been raised in the controversy. The Bavarian Supreme Court met that issue squarely, and declared its entire competence to deal with the matter, for the reason that the Austrian nation, having voluntarily substituted itself for the private company, had thereby become responsible for all contracts of

*Dalloz, *Recueil de Jurisprudence*, 1906, Volume 1, p. 257.

†*Ibid*, *Sme partie*, p. 80.

‡January 27, 1905.

§*Essai sur les Emprunts d'Etats Etrangers*, Albert Wuarin, 1907, p. 105.

that company, which still retained their purely private character, and furthermore, that by the fact of this substitution the Austrian government voluntarily had submitted itself to the jurisdiction of the Bavarian tribunal.

Thus did the court draw a clear distinction between the Austrian government acting in a purely business capacity, and the Austrian government acting in its governmental capacity as a sovereign state.

Unquestionably, we are just at the beginning of this differentiation in form and function and legal personality of the industrial state from the governing state. From the slight experience that already has been gained in connection with this new form of state industrial administration, however, it is apparent that under the new *régime*, many of the old objections to governmental ownership of railways have been very largely removed. A few years ago there existed only two general types of railway administration, that of the private railway corporation, supposedly operated at a high state of industrial efficiency and with an eye solely to the gaining of the largest possible profits for its stockholders, and that of the state railway administration run at a slightly lower level of economic efficiency because forced to use the cumbersome administration methods employed by a political government, but having the great advantage of being able to ignore the question of profit-making, and to concentrate all of its efforts on the one problem of how to give the public the best possible service at the least possible cost. Perhaps the most important single fact in connection with the railroad development of modern times is this marked and increasing tendency of state railroads to combine the natural advantages of both of these types of railway administration. To the great and inherent advantage of management in the public interest, is being added the economic advantage which for so long was supposed to be the especial prerogative of private enterprise, *i. e.*, management at

the highest possible standard of business efficiency.

Here the question arises, If it is possible for a state railway administration to combine these two highly desirable features, why is it not possible for a private railway corporation to do likewise? In other words, is government control of an autonomous state railway administration preferable to government control of a free and independent private corporation administration. Most Europeans believe that it is, for the simple reason that under a *régime* of government regulation it is always found that the government and the railway corporations are working for distinctly different objects; the first to give to the public the best possible service at the least possible expense; the second to realize the greatest possible profit to stockholders and financiers (chiefly the latter), irrespective of the kind of service furnished. This difference in their aims and purposes invariably has resulted in an exhausting and never-ceasing conflict between the government and the railway corporations subject to its control.

When, on the other hand, the government owning the railroads has placed them in the hands of an autonomous state administration, it finds that this administration and itself are working for precisely the same object, *i. e.*, to give the public the best possible service at the smallest cost. The political government, therefore, has only to discuss with its industrial adjunct the question of methods for the attainment of their common object. Its functions are confined to the comparatively simple duty of seeing to it that the state railway administration is conducted honestly and efficiently. There is no possible conflict of interests; the worst that can happen is that there may arise a conflict of opinions. But where people are honest and have the same object in view it is a comparatively simple matter, if not to come to an agreement, at least to effect a compromise as to the proper methods to be employed, for the attainment of their common object.

A number of able and authoritative writers on this subject decidedly underestimate the wide divergence which may arise and often does arise between the interests of the public on the one hand, and those of the stockholders and stock-manipulators of private railway corporations on the other hand. It is said with a certain degree of truth that the interests of railroads and the traveling and shipping public are identical. Up to a certain point this unquestionably is true, but after a certain point it is just as unquestionably false. It is to the advantage of the roads not to charge such high rates that the people will stop traveling or that shippers cannot afford to ship their freight. It is equally true that it is to the interest of shippers and of the traveling public that the railroads be permitted to receive sufficient remuneration for the service rendered to enable them to keep their road up to the highest standard of technical efficiency, and to make a fair profit on the capital invested. But between these two points there exists a "twilight zone" of very considerable extent which is debatable ground. Whether the railroads or the people be allowed to dominate within this zone is a matter of very great moment, involving on the one hand a large increase in railroad profits, and on the other an equally large reduction in the cost of transportation to the traveling and shipping public. As a detailed illustration of the principle just enunciated, the following remarkable statement of facts by Mr. William Galt is very much to the point:

"The directors, therefore, of the companies manage the railways with one view, and one view only—to obtain the greatest profit for their shareholders, without any more regard to the interests of the public than is necessary for effecting that object.

"We have already noticed the wide range of fares adopted by the several companies, commencing as low as one half-penny per mile for first-class passengers,

**Railway Reform*, by William Galt, pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 236, 237.

and increasing by small fractional additions, till the highest fare of three pence half-penny per mile is reached, and in the same proportion with the other classes. Thus we shall find that in some cases the lowest fares produce a greater profit than the highest; but it is one of the most remarkable phenomena of railway statistics, and one we shall have occasion to illustrate at some length, that within the range of fares adopted by the companies, *the actual profit varied but comparatively little, whether a high, low, or medium fare be adopted.* Every one will readily enough understand the great increase of passengers that results from a considerable reduction in fares, and the reverse when an opposite policy is pursued; but few persons would believe, who have not directed their attention to the subject, what a comparatively small difference it makes in a financial point-of-view when, from some cause, there comes a sudden change in the policy of a company, and low fares are substituted for high fares, or the reverse. Nevertheless, there is a difference, quite sufficient to govern the policy of a company.

"It was at one time a matter of some nicety and considerable anxiety to a board of directors, when a line was opened, to fix the fares at the exact point that would best pay. The operation was performed somewhat the same manner as an *habitué* of the opera adjusts his opera-glass to his sight; by alternately extending and contracting it till his glass is at the exact focus. On the same principle directors ascertained the precise point in their sliding-scale at which their tariff would best pay, and that knowledge was only to be acquired by going through the process of alternately raising and lowering the fares until it was ascertained. When directors were well advised and exercised due care and judgment before they fixed their tariff, very few changes were necessary, and unless from the opening of a competing line, or some other extraneous cause, the fares remained with little or no alteration for many years. The scale of

fares naturally depends on the character of the population whose wants the railway supplies. Their general social position and many other circumstances now enable the clear-headed manager to decide at once on the best-paying fares, or at all events, go very near the mark, and recommend them to his board accordingly, so that very few changes are afterwards required. It was very different, however, in the early history of railways, when managers had but little experience to guide them in fixing the fares, and thought the tariff that paid best in one locality should pay best in all others. With railways that paid fair dividends the changes in fares were not very great, seldom exceeding 10 or 20 per cent.; but it was very different with the unfortunate class that paid very low dividends; the directors, attributing their want of success to not having charged the best-paying fares, made the most extreme and sudden changes, in order to find them out. The tariff would be reduced 30, 40 or 50 per cent., or tried the other way, and raised 50, or, in some cases, 100 per cent. We shall find, when we go into these cases, this curious result, from all these changes—that let the directors alter their fares as they would—make them high, low, or moderate—change them from three pence per mile for first-class to three farthings; or one penny per mile to one farthing for third class, *the difference in dividend to the shareholders was comparatively small, seldom exceeding a half per cent. per annum.* That difference, however small in itself, was of considerable consequence to the shareholder, not merely as regards the income, but its effect on the market price of shares, every pound of income representing about twenty pounds of capital.

"Some boards commenced with low fares, and gradually increased them till the highest paying point was attained. Let us suppose a case in which the directors think that the first-class fare should not exceed one penny per mile, and the other classes in due proportion; but find that such a tariff pays only 4 per

cent. per annum. Not being satisfied, they double their fares, and find that pays $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; they hope still better to improve their position, and add 50 per cent. more to their fares, but the increase reduces their dividend to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; by a few more trials they soon ascertain the best paying point, which, perhaps, turns out to be an addition of 20 per cent. instead of 50 per cent. to the second tariff trial. Let us take now the descending scale. The directors of another company we will suppose, believing that high fares would pay best, charge three pence per mile for first-class, and the others in proportion; these fares they find pay them at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, with which, however, they are not satisfied. They reduce their fares 33 per cent., and they find that reduction raises their dividend to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; thus encouraged, they make another reduction, and reduce these last fares 50 per cent.: this actually raises their dividend to $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. They go on and reduce another 50 per cent., but they find now they have gone beyond the mark, for their dividend is reduced to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., so they come to the right conclusion—being somewhere between the present and the last charged fares, the exact point they soon discovered and slightly raise their fares till they find that three farthings per mile for first-class, and one half-penny for second class, for the whole length of their line, return tickets at a fare and a half, and slightly increased charges for shorter distances, pay them 6 per cent. These are the fares now charged, 6 per cent. being the dividend paid, on the North London line. There are, however, very few railways in the kingdom but would lose considerably as compared with their present earnings, by carrying their ordinary first-class passengers at three farthings per mile, instead of two pence or two pence half-penny, the usual charge; their second-class at a half-penny per mile instead of three half-pence; and their third, at one farthing per mile instead of one penny.

"The London and Northwestern Com-

pany, for instance, in 1863 paid £5 2s. 6d. per cent. to their proprietors, but if the fares were reduced to *one-third* of what they now charge, their annual dividend might at first be reduced to £4 per cent. per annum, a large reduction, representing a loss in the market value on each £100 share of £22 10s. The greatest loss, however, that I have been able to trace to any company by a change of policy was that caused by a sudden reduction of four-fifths in their fares; the loss in that case amounted to one per cent. dividend per annum on their capital. To ascertain the loss companies would incur in their dividends by any assumed reduction in their fares, when all the data are furnished, would be a matter of little difficulty to any well-skilled manager of a railway.

"There is, however, another party who have some interest in the matter, not only in the fares of the London and North-western Company, but in the fares of all the railways in the kingdom, and that very large party is the *Public*; who have no voice or influence either direct or indirect, in the matter, by themselves individually or their representatives, nor, under the present system, have a right to require any reduction in the fares on a railway more than they have a right to require their grocer or baker to reduce the price of their tea and their loaf. It is a part of our recognized policy to grant to private individuals the possession of these great arteries of communication which monopolize the conveyance of passengers and goods throughout the country, and they who exercise the trust on behalf of the shareholders find themselves obliged, in the exercise of their duty, to exclude at least three-fourths of those who have occasion to travel.

"Now here is a subject for statesmen to ponder, and we could not choose an illustration more in point of the working of the present system. The London and Blackwall Railway was constructed for the accommodation of the poorest and most densely-populated district of the metropo-

lis; the fares are moderate, three half-pence and a penny per mile, for the two classes of passengers; but considering the poverty of the district through which the railway runs, it is pretty certain that if the fares for the whole distance, four miles, were reduced to two pence and one penny respectively for the two, they might pay *nearly*, though possibly *not quite*, as well as the present fares. The directors, no doubt, would be glad if they could accommodate the public by further reducing their fares to the level of their neighbor, the North London, if they could do so with justice to their shareholders; but instead of doing so, they may eventually feel themselves obliged to return to the old fares; it just turns on the chance of their taking a few hundred pounds less in the course of the year. The number of passengers conveyed in each train on the London and Blackwall, according to the last returns, was ninety-one; and by the North London, one hundred and fifty-five.

"There were conveyed on the London and Blackwall Railway last year, upwards of *ten million* passengers; yet in this densely-populated district, this teeming hive of industry, where time may almost literally be said to be money, probably three times that number were obliged to travel on foot, who would have been able to pay a penny for their fare, and could have been carried at a mere nominal increase in the expense, as the trains are running comparatively empty.

"One more instance. The length of the Glasgow and Greenock line is twenty-two and a half miles. There was an active competition carried on for some time between the railway company and the owners of steamboats on the Clyde; the third-class fare by the railway, which had formerly been a shilling for the entire distance, was reduced to sixpence, and the opposition was carried on for two years; there was, of course, an enormous increase in the number of passengers, but an arrangement having been come to between the contending parties, the railway company returned to their original fares; the

difference in the company's receipts, after the change, was rather in their favor, but it amounted only to one shilling per cent. per annum increase on their dividend—an increase of only one-twentieth of one per cent."

It is a matter of considerable surprise to me that a number of our eminent railway authorities have taken so little cognizance of the condition described by Mr. Galt. That railroads, in order to increase their profits by a small fraction of one per cent., should be willing to increase their rates by 50 per cent. is not so amazing, but when this sort of thing is being done right along by every private railroad in the world, that eminent railway economists, *without making any qualifications whatever*, should still have the hardihood to assert that "the interests of the railroads and the shipping and traveling public are identical" is absolutely incomprehensible.

To be sure, it is a matter of common knowledge that there are certain varieties of freight of which the amount carried by the railroads would not be very largely increased no matter how great a cut should be made in the rates at which they were carried, but this fact does not in any way do away with that even larger category of persons and articles to be transported, which respond quickly to every cut in rates by a rapid increase in the quantity offered for shipment. The heart of the matter is this; that whereas this increase in the quantities offered for shipment frequently makes up and sometimes more than makes up for the losses sustained by the cut in rates, at the same time frequently the resultant increase does not *quite* recoup the roads for those losses. It is in dealing with this class of articles that a government administration, intent only on serving the public, would continue to keep the price of transportation down to a reasonable figure, whereas corporation railway managers would necessarily feel in duty bound to raise such rates to the point at which they would be productive of the greatest amount of profits. The

difference between the attitudes of state and corporation railway administrations can be summed up in a very few words. The ideal corporation charges all that the traffic will bear, whereas an ideal government gives all that the rates charged can be made to pay for.

The fundamental and irreconcilable nature of this conflict between the interests represented on the one hand by the government, and on the other hand by railroad corporation managers, was very clearly and concisely brought out in the concluding words of the governmental argument in favor of the state purchase of the Prussian railroads in 1879.*

"If it were possible," said the government, "to make a system so perfect that the interests of the public could be thoroughly protected from the private companies, this system could not easily leave the railroads free to increase their profits.

"The intervention of the government limits and hinders the action of the companies, its requirements may even injure them and cut down their receipts: but in this event private capital will shun the enterprises so rigorously controlled, and the development of the railroads will be checked. On the other hand, if the financial results of the enterprise commence to decrease, the necessity of not injuring the profitableness of the enterprise and of warding off the ruin which would be caused by a breakdown must cause the government to waive certain demands which it had made in the general interest. The system of private companies, therefore, must disappear because of these inconsistencies, *i. e.*, that the interests of the public which are bound up with the railroads, are left at the mercy of private initiative and that government control cannot do that which actual state operation alone can accomplish."

CARL S. VROOMAN.

Bloomington, Illinois.

**Etude Compare du Droit de Rachat, etc., Paul Deligny, p. 35.*

THE ATLANTIC DEEP WATERWAY.

BY WILLIAM J. ROE.

ONE OF the most serious of all the numerous problems that have been presented by nature for solution by civilization is that of transportation of products. It is largely, even mainly, because of the lack of adequate means to move raw material from the place of production to the place of manufacture, and again to the places of consumption, that so many articles of commerce are extortionately dear; and it is also because of that same lack of facilities that year after year, more deadly than battle and murder, famine brings death—slow or sudden—to innumerable peasant peoples of China and India and Russia. Indeed it has passed into a maxim (amply corroborated by history) that those countries have progressed most and swiftest in civilization whose waterways have been most numerous and accessible. Within the last half-century the marvelous development of railway systems—particularly in Europe and North America—providing, as they have, for far swifter intercommunication, have largely superseded waterways. In the early years of the nineteenth century no more profitable investment for surplus capital was to be found than in shares of canal companies, until, little by little, the insidious rivalry of the railway, first reducing, at last totally prohibited profit. Time and enterprise and mechanical ingenuity, having displaced the mule and barge in favor of the locomotive, are again showing their power to make “ancient good uncouth,” the growth of human needs (former luxuries becoming more and more necessities) having outrun the increase of population, the people are returning to water transportation as a relief from the congested traffic of the railways.

The call of the people for this method of relief, at first feeble and local, grew quickly strong and finally continental.

The several states, notably New York, enacted laws and made large appropriations to this end, and the Federal government, incited to action mainly by political expediency and the demands of localities, did likewise. The history of the great Erie Canal system demonstrates not only the utility of the waterway for transportation, but the strength of public opinion, compelling this improvement against the antagonism of influences notoriously strong. The record of action by the United States Congress respecting waterways, shown by the items of successive river-and-harbor bills, while in many cases exceedingly effective, has in the past far too often been made the vehicle for needless or even scandalous expenditures, the so-called “log-rolling” of Congressmen having become a by-word—not necessarily of “graft,” but always of commercial greed or political ambition.

The present time, and the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt will probably be known in the far future as the era of the great commercial and economical awakening. The theory of comprehensive control by the nation over interstate commerce, evoking some exceedingly crude, but also much wise and beneficent legislation, in no one direction has so quickly taken shape for good as in its attitude toward that greatest of public utilities—children of the sun and the sea—the waters of the land.

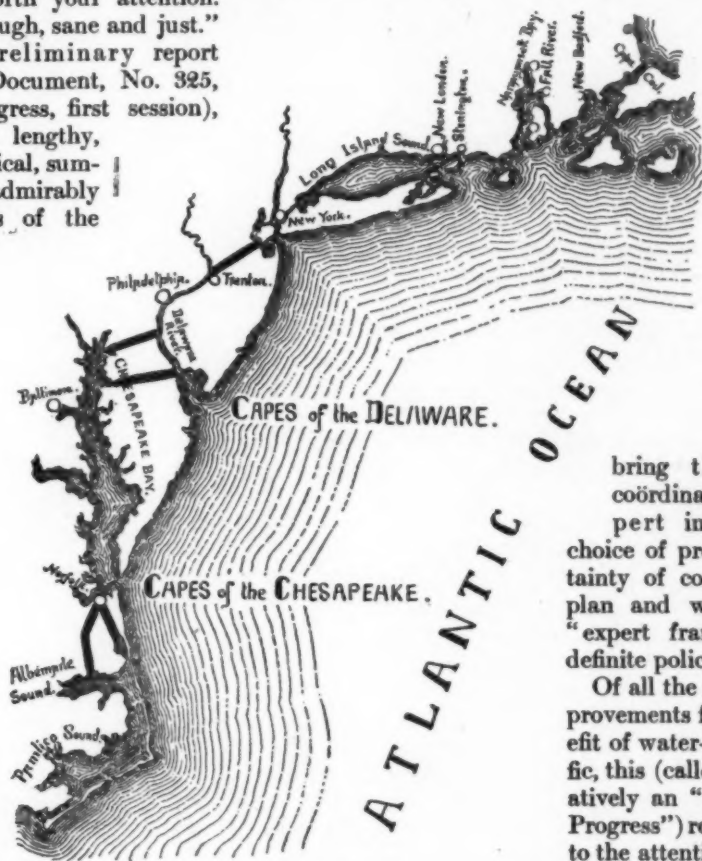
The demands of the people, embodied chiefly in petitions to the executive from commercial organizations of the Mississippi valley, were first distinctly recognized in an open letter (dated “The White House, March 14, 1907”) addressed to nine distinguished citizens requesting them to serve upon a commission “to prepare and report a comprehensive plan for the improvement and control of the river systems of the United States.”

This commission (now widely known as that of "Inland Waterways"), of which Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, is chairman, after many meetings and the fullest and ablest discussion, reported to the President, who transmitted the paper to Congress, characterizing it as "Well worth your attention. It is thorough, sane and just."

This preliminary report (Senate Document, No. 325, 60th Congress, first session), while not lengthy, nor statistical, summarizes admirably the needs of the

by canals and the canalization of rivers, each receives due attention.

Among the recommendations the principal one is for a "National Waterways Commission," not as a substitute for existing agencies—now scattered among various departments and bureaus—but "to



MAP No. 1.

bring these into coördination," "expert initiative in choice of projects, certainty of continuity of plan and work," and "expert framing of a definite policy."

Of all the several improvements for the benefit of water-borne traffic, this (called conservatively an "Inquiry in Progress") recommends to the attention of Congress the project for "A deep and continuous

national as to the conservation and utilization of our water supply. For accurate information, scientific treatment, and philosophic discernment it is unsurpassed in ability. Of necessity the subject divides into numerous branches; questions of forest preservation, of irrigation, of reclamation by drainage, of the utilization of water power, the prevention of floods, and the relief of railway congestion

Atlantic inner passage from New England to Florida." It may be confidently said that no other of the contemplated improvements in the interest of still-water navigation (not even the projected deep waterway from the lakes to the Gulf) has so many and so vital elements in its favor. The first map shows almost at a glance how abundantly Nature has already provided for this "Atlantic Inner Passage";

from the extreme eastern shore of Cape Cod to Buzzard's Bay a narrow neck, barely nine miles across, now—being cut by private enterprise—intercepts the passage of ships; thence southeasterly—passing Martha's Vineyard and Block Island—comes Long Island Sound; then in order, the "East river," New York harbor, the Kill-van-Kull and Staten Island Sound. The break across New Jersey has already been overcome from the Raritan to the Delaware, by a canal, needing only to be deepened and widened. Then comes the Delaware, and between that and the Chesapeake only a few miles of cutting and the way is clear to the harbor of Norfolk, below the capes of the Chesapeake. Beyond Norfolk two canals already exist carrying light-draught vessels, needing only enlargement to connect with the broad and safe expanses of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds.

Further southward, along the entire coast to the very extreme tip of the Florida peninsula, while no extensive bays or sounds penetrate inland, countless bayous and lagoons wind and wander back of those long reaches of marsh and meadow, of rice and cotton plantations constituting the Sea Island of Georgia and the Carolinas. Many of these natural channels are navigable for vessels of considerable tonnage; others are comparatively shallow; but, with here and there an isthmus of alluvial soil, easily susceptible of being cut through by the modern hydraulic dredger, the entire southern coast already affords a passage, safe and sheltered, parallel to the ocean. And this Atlantic system may be connected with another for interior communication along the Gulf of Mexico by one or the other of two routes (both of which have been surveyed), one by the St. Mary's river through Okefenokee Swamp, and down the Suwannee; the other up the St. John's, and thence by way of Topokaliya Lake to the Gulf at Charlotte Harbor.

A perusal of the various River-and-Harbor acts and the statistical publications of the Department of Commerce and

Labor show an already existing traffic along the present disconnected channels of the Atlantic seaboard surprising for the amount, value and variety of transported produce. Coal, lumber, cotton, fertilizers, fish, oysters, garden produce, etc., constitute the principal cargoes, now carried in small craft; but which, upon the opening of a through waterway of sufficient depth, would be far more economically transported in steam-propelled barges of large dimensions.

But the coastwise commerce between the northern and southern states is now carried on mainly upon the Atlantic ocean. From information carefully gathered and published by the United States government, it is found that for the last ten years alone, there were of vessels totally lost, about a thousand, of partial losses nearly three times as many, and that the aggregate value of vessels and cargoes lost and ruined exceeded \$20,000,000; while the lives sacrificed (not to be estimated in money value) were very many hundreds, the majority perishing on that terrible "Graveyard of the Atlantic," the coast of stormy Hatteras.

A close estimate of the cost of a continuous waterway from Massachusetts to Florida, with a depth of thirty feet, ample for all the present needs of commerce, shows that it could be constructed for not far from \$100,000,000. That is to say, for this expenditure, considering the natural increase of tonnage, the country would save the whole cost in money in comparatively a very few years, to say nothing of the saving of life now sacrificed to the fury of the open sea.

Such, very briefly, are the commercial advantages of a continuous deep waterway along the Atlantic seaboard. But another and equally important advantage demands attention. Within the last ten years that have been taken as a basis for reckoning, so strong has been the voice of the people for peace and arbitration as a substitute for warfare, that perhaps we have entered upon a new era. Still the savage element in mankind has not been

wholly conquered, and still that nation which is most capable of enforcing peace is most likely to conserve it. "How," the Christ has said, "can one enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man?" a statement of truth hardly requiring the "authority" of theological dogma.

In ways of aggression and destruction America has proved herself so humane and so just that she can well afford to arm without the imputation of a desire for conquest. This paper is not a plea for further or more extensive warlike preparation, or the construction of many or more powerful battle-ships; but rather to indicate to the citizen unversed in military and naval strategy, the actual beneficence of a coastwise deep-water channel along the Atlantic, as a practical measure of protection.

In case of aggressive war with a foreign maritime power, or perhaps with a coalition of aggressive powers, what more certain object of attack than our exposed seaboard cities! Modern science has made such enormous advances that now heavy ordnance can throw shot and shell destructively for many miles. For purpose of devastation—or more likely ransom—a foreign fleet would naturally congregate at one port, singling that out for spoliation. In that harbor alone would be probably not sufficient floating armament for successful defense; but the waterway open along the coast, reinforcements—battle-ships, armored cruisers, torpedo-boats—all the effective forces of the navy congregated at other stations—could come steaming swiftly and safely to the relief of the threatened city, either to join with fort and fleet in front defense, or to assail the enemy's exposed flank. Such a canal would mean swift and sure concentration. It would increase the effective strength of our defending navy by as many fold as there are naval stations or cities to defend. If the canal would pay for itself in a few years by the saving it would effect in life and property during peace, how much might it not save in the single hour of destructive war?

So, commercially and strategically alike, the utility and economy of the coast waterway become evident. But it is always easier to offer evidence than to cause a surely righteous verdict. However meritorious a scheme of public utility may be, opposition may always be counted upon. The former petty "log-rolling," not always far removed from petty larceny, by which a vote for a court-house or a post-office building was exchanged for a river or a harbor improvement, has largely disappeared in Congress. We have not perhaps grown better, we have grown wiser; the bramble of close competition has borne the fruit of coöperation; the rivalry of "labor" and "capital" has taught both capitalist and toiler the value of at least this—"the injury of one is the concern of all," and that in ways of business as in politics, "in union is strength."

But in spite of this generally larger outlook and broader plan and scope in considering great public improvements, this one has not failed to encounter, even in its very inception, diverse views of avowed friends as to expediency, and also the more serious claims of rival routes, and the demands of vested interests liable to interference or destruction. There are in fact at least three localities where this rivalry has already taken definite, and in one very strenuous shape. It is not the province of this article to pass judgment as to respective merit or demerit; but by quoting from public papers and official documents to indicate wherein merit or demerit may lie, and in some degree the nature of the obstacles that may be reckoned upon to deflect or even thwart the speedy realization of so worthy a public improvement.

On August 28, 1907, several members of Congress visited Trenton, New Jersey, in the interest of a project for deepening the channel of the Delaware river. The interest then awakened resulted in a conference of municipalities and trade associations affected, and this in turn in the organization—in coöperation with the "Inland Waterways Commission—of an

association, composed of delegates from commercial bodies, or those designated by governors of the states bordering on the Atlantic, and other distinguished citizens, calling itself "The Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association."

This conference decided to remain attorney for the plaintiff proposition of a greater water highway, and as to the standing of contending interests, "without prejudice." As to these contending interests, the association, at its session held in Philadelphia, November 18, 19 and 20, 1907, amended a resolution favoring "the lines of existing canals," and unanimously substituting, "along the lines approved by Congress as the most practical."

Unfortunately at the second session of the association held in Baltimore in November last, this wise action was rescinded, the convention voting that the route should be in all cases, "along the lines of existing canals."

The first (beginning at the northern end of the proposed water highway) of the many links in the long chain, will be that to connect Cape Cod Bay or Boston harbor, the former with Buzzard's Bay, the latter with Narragansett Bay at Fall River. A paper on "The Cape Cod Canal," now under construction, being financed by August Belmont & Company, was read by Mr. William Barclay Parsons, of New York, and another relating to a proposed canal between Fall River and Boston, was read by Hon. L. E. Chamberlain, President of the Massachusetts Board of Trade. Mr. Parsons' paper was extremely interesting. It related in some detail the history of this long-deferred enterprise, from the year 1697, when the Massachusetts General Court ordered an investigation as to the feasibility of cutting a waterway between "Barnstable Bay into Monament Bay." The project advocated by Mr. Chamberlain is also an ancient one, although a charter was granted only three years ago. Its chief advantage is a military one, in that it materially shortens the distance into

Boston harbor, and avoids the open sea of Cape Cod Bay. The rivalry between these two routes, while as yet quite amicable, promises to develop considerable energy.

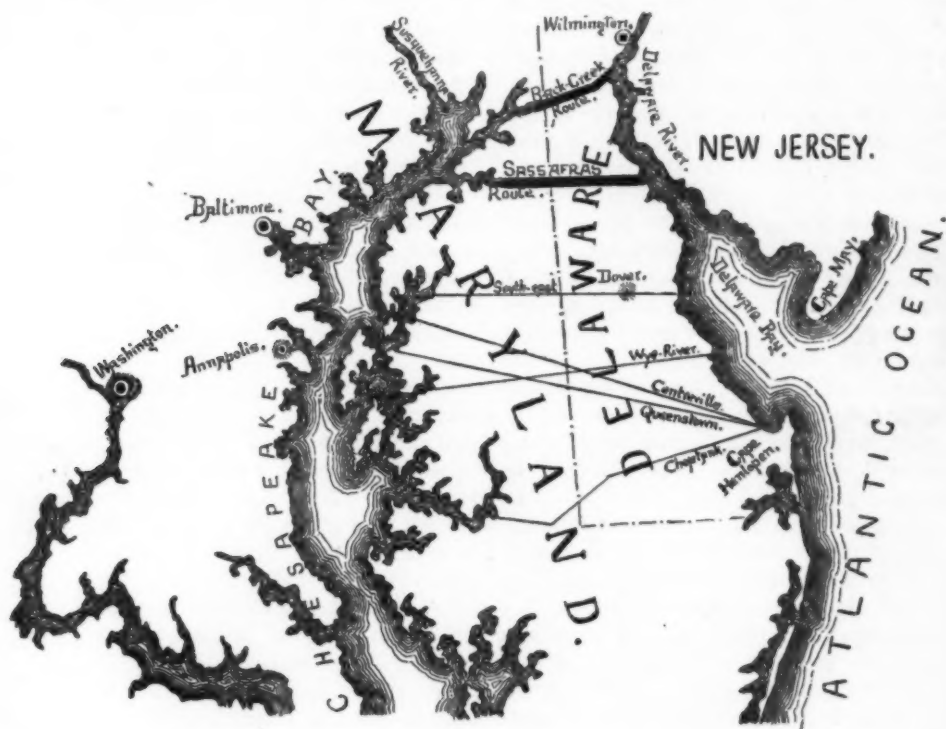
From either Buzzard's or Narragansett Bay, to the westward deep water is found until the mouth of the Raritan river is reached, and these waters, from Fisher's Island at the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound, are fully protected by fortifications. The next link in the canal system is that connecting the waters of New York Bay with the Delaware river. Over this route there is now a small canal—the Delaware and Raritan canal—needing only enlargement. A survey, authorized by the city of Philadelphia in 1894, has been made; some changes of route are suggested, and the sole obstacle to an enlarged waterway (apart from the cost, estimated at about \$30,000,000) would be the possible opposition of the owners—the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The situation in regard to a deeper waterway from Hampton Roads to Albemarle Sound in North Carolina, is almost precisely similar to that which has developed in Massachusetts: two shallow canals, owned and operated by private corporations, now connect these waters—the "Dismal Swamp canal," and the "Chesapeake and Albemarle." Several exhaustive reports have been made by the United States Engineer Corps; the advantages and disadvantages of both routes appearing about equally balanced, and, quite naturally, each is not backward in claiming superiority over the other. Besides these several alternative routes have been surveyed; one—the "Cooper's Creek" route being the favorite.

Retracing our steps somewhat, it is to take up the circumstances and conditions connected with the proposed deep channel from the Delaware to the Chesapeake. The situation as to this proposed cut is unique in a multitude of particulars. Here exists a rivalry—bidding fair to result in antagonism, not, as with the Cape Cod and Hampton Roads sections, be-

tween private and therefore somewhat trivial interests; but between two great cities—Philadelphia and Baltimore, indeed it may be said, between the two states of Pennsylvania and Maryland. A glance at Map No. 2 will show at once and clearly the sources of difference or discord. The movement for a canal across the Maryland-Delaware peninsula origin-

more, situated as it is, far up the Chesapeake Bay, and nearly two hundred miles from the ocean at the capes of Virginia, demanded a new and quicker access to the sea. Responding to this demand—at the time quite unanimous—the War Department caused surveys of various routes to be made. These (indicated on the map) were all more or less “direct routes” to



MAP No. 2.

ated early in the nineteenth century, the result being a waterway some eight feet in depth, with locks, which is still in active business, although its revenues—at one time very considerable—have been reduced to merely nominal figures. This canal is known as “The Chesapeake and Delaware canal,” and the line (as noted on the map) the “Back-Creek Route.”

In the year 1871 a new movement was inaugurated in the way of a water route across the peninsula. The city of Balti-

the sea, three of them terminating at Lewes, just within the Delaware break-water. One of these would undoubtedly have been chosen had it not been for the expense; the cheapest of all being that called “The Choptank Route,” the estimate for which was over \$16,000,000, the others ranging up to \$41,500,000 for the “Centerville,” while the estimate for the “SassafRAS” was only \$8,000,000. At this time the “Back-Creek” route had not been considered, no survey even having

been made. Although a company was incorporated to construct a ship canal across the peninsula, and a right of way acquired, as well as some work done on the line of the Sassafras, the project languished until 1894, when, responding to the urgency of Baltimore, the President appointed a commission to decide upon a route. During the years between 1871 and 1894 conditions had materially altered affecting Baltimore's foreign commerce. The channel of the lower Chesapeake, previously narrow, tortuous and shallow, had become, through the work of the Engineer Corps and liberal appropriations under the River-and-Harbor acts, broad, deep and comparatively straight, so satisfactory in fact to Baltimore's shippers that they were no longer interested in any ship-canal project. Another consideration had also to be taken into account—the act (River-and-Harbor act of August, 1894) provided that in making selection of a route, the board should select not only the route which should “give the greatest facility to commerce,” but which should be “best adapted to national defense.”

Map No. 2 will serve to show that the terms of this authorization barred out any consideration whatever being given to any of the routes having their eastern terminus upon the open sea, or upon the Delaware Bay below the mouth of the river where fortifications could not be erected to ensure security of communication in time of war; this, of course, left the choice between the “Back-Creek” and the “Sassafras.” Further, the eastern terminus of the present Chesapeake and Delaware canal was upon the Delaware river above (and therefore protected by) Forts Delaware and Dupont. The military consideration (the commission being almost entirely composed of military men) prevailed, the report being unanimous in favor of the “Back-Creek.”

For twelve years nothing was done in the matter; then (by virtue of joint-resolution No. 37, approved June 28, 1907) a second commission was desig-

nated, as the resolution was worded: “To examine and appraise the works and franchises of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal,” and also “to investigate the feasibility of the Sassafras route.” By the terms of the resolution three commissioners were to be designated, one of whom should be “an officer of the Engineer Corps, one an officer of the navy, and one a civilian.” This commission reported January 1, 1907, recommending the “Back-Creek” route as “desirable,” but stating that the Sassafras was “feasible.”

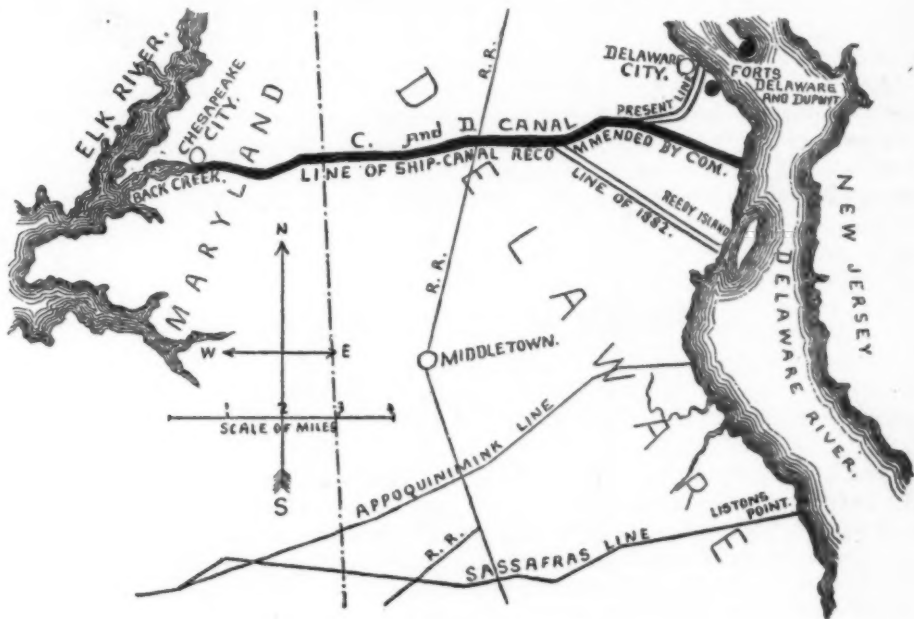
From these two decisions those interested have taken an appeal. The action of Congress shows that this appeal has had its effect: a bill for the purchase of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal not having been considered, and another, reopening the entire subject of choice of routes (S. R. 75, 60th Congress, first session) having passed the Senate, April 24, 1908.

The grounds of opposition to the more northerly of the two routes are in effect, that the choice of this route discriminates by its far greater length against Baltimore's foreign commerce (Maps 1 and 2). Second, the existence of 7,000 linear feet of quicksand on that line—no trace of which appears on the line of the Sassafras—and, third, a curious discrepancy in the report of the second commission (Senate Document No. 215, 59th Congress, second session) which, while recommending the northern route *because of its eastern terminus being above the fortifications*, by its official map (of which Map No. 3 is virtually a *fac-simile*) shows the projected ship canal terminating on the Delaware *below the batteries*, and therefore beyond their direct protection. The batteries could still defend the approach to the canal; but the chief object of such a waterway strategically—the insurance of entire *security of communication* would be defeated, the canal being still *exposed to peril of distant bombardment*.

The prospect of an enormous amount of local traffic to follow the opening of a deep-water canal, “free and clear” of

tolls, on either of these routes, makes it highly probable that upon one line or the other the first work of the long water highway will be begun. There are, it is estimated, now about 8,000 vessels, carrying annually between 50,000,000 and 90,000,000 tons that now trade—chiefly with Baltimore, on the Chesapeake Bay. Much, if not all, of this tonnage Baltimore

way of connecting navigable waters, deepening existing shallow channels, and generally improving local navigation. Almost without exception these improvements have been made in response to purely local demands. One of the reports—that of Colonel, then Major, Ernest H. Ruffner, of the United States Engineers, is well worthy of more than casual men-



MAP No. 3.

fears will be diverted to Wilmington and Philadelphia.

Southward from the Chesapeake this great enterprise of a deep coastwise water highway may be considered as a practical unit. From that curious anomaly of nature, Lake Drummond of the Dismal Swamp into which no stream flows, and from which on every side the water runs; through Albemarle Sound, not as might be thought, an estuary of the ocean, but a body of fresh water; across broad Pamlico, and thence behind the Sea Islands, the way lies open for a continuous deep channel. From time to time much has been effected by the general government through the Corps of Engineers, in the

tion. This report may be found in H. R. Document No. 278, 56th Congress, first session. It relates to the survey of "water ways and low-lying marsh lands or rice lands between the North and South Santee rivers, with a view to extending the Estherville-Minim Creek canal."

Complying strictly with the provisions of the River-and-Harbor act of March 3, 1899, Major Ruffner makes his report upon this projected improvement. He finds it both desirable and feasible; and then, somewhat transcending the ordinary scope of duty of a local engineer officer, charged with the preliminary investigation of a petty piece of dredging to facilitate local traffic, he takes occasion to call

attention to the futility of that system of policy which has engaged itself in considering "items separately, and not as a logical whole." The hope is clearly, cleverly and strenuously expressed of securing "the adoption of a general project for the inland navigation of this region."

It is seldom indeed that so much of prophecy—and also of poetry is found in a matter-of-fact, cold-blooded report of a work of simple civil engineering. In word cartoons, admirable for atmosphere, Major Ruffner contrasts "the coast of the Netherlands and East Friesland with our own ocean front from Chesapeake Bay to Florida." He compares Holland, supporting near five million people "on a

bleak coast fronting the angry waves of the boisterous North Sea," with the scantily-populated maze of islands of South Carolina and Georgia—"islands with no cold winter expanse, canal and field not locked up for months as in Holland, but bathed in sunshine."

The argument is for a comprehensive system of deep-water communication; for the logical whole, for the several links of improvement conforming, as the necessity arises, not only to the limited requirements of localities, but with a view to the extension of one grand chain of an Atlantic deep waterway along the entire coast.

WILLIAM J. ROE.

Newburgh, New York.

BETTER CITY GOVERNMENT.

BY HON. LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN,

Ex-Governor of Rhode Island.

PAST attempts at municipal reform have resulted in failure. So universally has this been the case that not a few of its advocates, becoming discouraged, have abandoned their efforts and allowed the old hated *régime* to regain control.

Time and again this has happened in New York and Chicago. More recently it has occurred in Philadelphia.

These are but spectacular types of many cities. Never have the rascals been turned out for any considerable length of time.

Happily within a few years the reform force has been turned into a new and a more promising direction. Reformers finally are beginning to realize that their efforts to supplant the incompetent and the venal by better officials are wholly unsatisfactory, and, at best, result in a very partial and temporary improvement.

The catastrophe which devastated Galveston in 1900 led the people of that stricken city to turn their attention to the correction of the real cause of bad govern-

ment, namely, a crude, antiquated, outgrown, and almost worthless machinery of local elections.

The example set by Galveston has been followed by other cities in other states, and to-day a disposition is manifest in many influential quarters to reform the system of government which has obtained in the cities.

TWO DANGERS.

The situation is hopeful, but involves two dangers.

One of these dangers is that in many cities it will be said: We will watch the experiments now being made in Galveston, Texas; in Des Moines, Iowa, and in Newport, Rhode Island, and the one which proves the most successful we will make an effort to apply here.

The trouble with this waiting attitude is that, pending a decision which may long be delayed, the corroding evils now in existence will continue, and that a few years hence the reform wave now sweep-

ing over the country may have receded.

The second danger is, that other cities, assuming upon insufficient ground that the experiments now being tried are sure to be successful, will proceed at once to imitate the one which seems most promising.

It would be safer to take neither of these courses, but rather to examine the several schemes of improvement in the light of history and reason, and thereafter fix upon some plan which is feasible and which gives greater promise of success, if possible, than any of the experiments now being tried.

The Des Moines plan, which is a development of the Galveston experiment, possesses features which seem to be very desirable.

The doing away with the party names on the ballot is a simple and effective change which ought to be applied in all municipal elections. The direct control of the city charter by the voters is fundamentally right and expedient.

The constitution of the city government of Des Moines, however, is a very radical change from past methods—so revolutionary as to make it difficult of accomplishment through the legislature of many of the states, particularly in those lying eastward of Iowa.

Certainly other cities which are considering the adoption of the Des Moines plan ought to satisfy themselves of its theoretic value, for it will be a number of years before its permanent success can be established by the clinical method alone. Nor should it be necessary to await developments. The theory of popular government is not so novel and untried that the operation of a new adaptation cannot be understood and foreseen from an examination of the law creating it.

THE DES MOINES CHARTER.

Are the most important provisions of the Des Moines charter in theory correct, and do they accord with the canons of government generally accepted in the United States?

The administration of its city government is divided into five departments, namely: Public Affairs, Accounts and Finances, Public Safety, Streets and Public Improvements, Parks and Public Property.

The first of these departments is advisory and supervisory, and is assigned by law to the mayor, who is elected by the people at large. The other four departments are filled also by means of a general ticket, each elector voting for any four out of all the candidates, whose names are arranged upon the ballot in alphabetical order.

In a word, the voters elect a mayor and four assistants, and the four are detailed by the board of five so constituted to their respective departments. No doubt their wishes and capacities will be consulted in such assignment to administrative duties.

Now these five men are not merely the executive heads of the administration, but they constitute the city legislature, making all appropriations and passing all ordinances which the voters themselves do not choose to enact or veto. They also elect the other city officials.

Concerning these provisions it may be said that election on a general ticket is far safer and better than would be election by wards. In view of the great powers conferred upon these five men, it is conceivable that, for a time at least, the better citizenship of the municipality may select them.

DOUBTFUL PROVISIONS.

Two or three things in the charter, however, will bear critical examination.

Executive and legislative functions are combined in the same persons. This is contrary to a theory which has long prevailed. It has been deemed unsafe, exposure to too great temptation, to permit the same body of men who are to disburse the public fund also to have a free hand in determining how large that sum shall be.

A long list of city officials, also, are chosen by the council, including such

important officers as city clerk, treasurer, solicitor, assessor, chief of fire department, and street commissioners. In this way the executive power is exercised, not by one person as provided in the United States constitution, but by a majority of the five members of the council.

Furthermore, under the Des Moines plan, in which the five all-powerful officials are elected by a plurality of the entire electorate, about one-half of the voters are excluded from all voice in the city government. Such mal-representation has never worked well and never will. Undoubtedly it is far better that the five councilmen be elected upon a general ticket, than separately from five wards, but the strong probability is that the spoilsmen of the city will be able, within a very few years, to elect three of the five councilmen. When that time arrives, owing to the immense powers concentrated in the council, the whole city will be absolutely at the mercy of the grafters.

REVOLUTION OR REFORM.

Therefore, owing to the difficulty in many states of securing the Des Moines plan, and still more because of the theoretic objections which lie against it, is it not worth while to aim rather at reforming than at revolutionizing our municipal governments?

Speaking for myself, although accounted a radical, I have always been in favor of giving a trial to that which is old and respectable, if it never has had a fair chance.

The federal plan of government is both old and respectable and in theory possessed of many virtues, but it never has been given a fair trial.

Its theory is this: A complete separation of the three departments of government, the executive to be single, the legislative to be multiple and representative, and the judicial to be durable.

In few cities is the executive power placed in the hands of the mayor, but so far as tried the single executive has proved successful. In no municipality is the

legislative branch of the government representative of the people—and, it must be remembered, notwithstanding the academic equality of the three departments, that the legislative is always far stronger than both the others combined.

Every legislative body should represent as many groups or parties as it contains members. In Des Moines, for example, the five men who make up the council should be chosen by, and therefore be representative of, five different sets of voters, gathered from the entire city constituency, the members of each set being in agreement upon some leading policy in municipal affairs.

A BETTER CITY COUNCIL.

In practice this may be brought about by electing, as in Des Moines, upon a general ticket, but, unlike that plan, limiting each voter to a single choice. Over the alphabetically-arranged list of candidates, which may number ten or more, should be printed upon the ballot the direction: *Vote for One.*

Evidently any one-fifth of the city's voters, who united upon one candidate, would be sure of electing him; so of another fifth, concentrated upon another candidate, and so on. The five candidates receiving the highest number of votes would be declared elected.

The council so chosen would reflect the five leading political opinions held by the voters of the city.

Now it is quite probable that in some cities the law-breaking classes, together with those subject to their influence, might amount to nearly one-fifth of the electorate, and in that case would be able to elect one councilman out of five. That result must be accepted, if it proves to be the case. In order to have true representation, it is necessary that every considerable minority, although it may be unpatriotic and vicious, should have its proportionate share of the legislative body. This is right. It is also expedient.

Under present conditions, it may be found in any year that this vicious fifth of

the electorate, holding the balance of power in the election, both can and does turn the scale. In that event it may easily happen, as indeed is constantly occurring, that a majority of the city council owes its election to this lawless element. As a consequence, we find the wide-open city, carnivals of graft, and costly, unsatisfactory and disgraceful city governments.

But how will it be with the undesirable element represented upon the city council by but one member, where the other four members are men of the first ability and integrity, chosen by the law-abiding and patriotic four-fifths of the voters? The single marplot will find himself upon a board where he is without influence when he attempts any of his crooked work. The other and superior members will see through his tricks and

ignore his bad proposals. He will get no second to any motion detrimental to the welfare of the inhabitants of the city. On the contrary, persistence in his futile wickedness will only serve as a background for displaying to the public the good qualities of his associates. In the council, taken as a whole, you will have a condensed town meeting of all the voters.

In many states, the single vote, which is the simplest form of proportional representation, may be applied upon the demand of the citizens of any city. As was the case with Newport, in conservative Rhode Island, leading Republicans and Democrats, joining forces, can easily secure the needed legislation. Once get the city council able and representative, and it will do the rest.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

Lonsdale, Rhode Island.

MEDICINE, HYPNOTISM AND RELIGION.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

WHEN Christian Science first entered on its work of divine healing, and for a long time afterward its claim that this power can be invoked now as it was in early Christendom was denounced as unfounded and sacrilegious. The churches and ministers of the gospel were most pronounced and uncompromising in their denunciation of its pretensions. Then followed the charge, so often repeated even down to the present time, that its exercise of the healing art was nothing more nor less than "mental-healing" hypnotism, mesmerism, suggestion and the like. But Christian Science kept steadily on its course, with loving kindness toward the churches and others who made such vicious war upon it, healing sin, sickness and disease and bringing health, happiness, contentment and a more cheerful Christian life, and greater prosperity to

thousands of people. The changed and more serene lives of its followers soon became the subject of frequent and favorable comment. With all the denunciation launched against it nothing of evil resulting from its practice could be pointed out, but the good it was and is doing was and is beyond dispute. As a natural result its numbers have steadily increased and with remarkable rapidity. Its members have come without direct effort to induce their coming. There has been no proselyting, no revivals, no solicitation of members. One seeking the healing has never been required to espouse the cause of Christian Science or forsake his own church. Every member of a Christian Science church has become so voluntarily and without solicitation or persuasion. Thousands of people who have been healed in Christian Science have,

unfortunately for them, and perhaps ungratefully, and maybe through pride, continued their membership in other churches, of which no complaint is made. This is left wholly for them to determine. But thousands of others have left the old churches and become Christian Scientists and workers for the Cause.

The fact that such numbers in the old churches have been healed, and are students of Mrs. Eddy's writings, and, because of their own experience, believers in divine healing, has forced their churches to action in an effort to do themselves what they so roundly denounced the Christian Scientists for claiming to do. The belief in divine healing has become so strong and universal as the result of Mrs. Eddy's teachings, and the demand upon the churches to obey the command of Jesus to heal the sick so imperative within their own membership, that there seemed to be nothing else to be done. If the churches should fail to respond to this demand the result was inevitable. Their members who believed in divine healing and the duty of the church to do this work, would seek a church that is obeying the full command of Jesus to preach the gospel and heal the sick.

The outcome of this uprising in favor of the application of the power of divine healing, has been most amazing. The people who have been so persistently and continuously denouncing Christian Science as a system of mind-cure by hypnotism, mesmerism and suggestion, and not a religion, have themselves become the advocates of and propose to devote the churches to the practice of these methods of healing the sick. They could not find it in their hearts to accept the Christian Science method of healing, which has been demonstrated as both healing and regenerating in its influences. So, hypnotism and mesmerism, in their various forms, heretofore looked upon as dangerous and often criminal, are to be exercised by ministers and other churchmen, unskilled and unaccustomed to their use, and this in the name of divine healing. Why is this

mode of healing called "divine"? Are the advocates of this mode of healing following in the footsteps of Jesus the Christ, the Wayshower? Was Jesus a hypnotist? Do they claim he was? They aver that God will heal the sick. Did he heal the sick through Jesus? If so this must have been the true mode of healing. Then why abandon this divine mode and resort to hypnotism and suggestion? Is it pride that is keeping the churches away from the true principle of healing taught by Mrs. Eddy, and so successfully demonstrated by her and her followers? If not why should they undertake to resort to the dangerous practice of hypnotism and suggestion as an alleged healing power after many years of effort by physicians and others to make it effective for that purpose? It is broadly admitted that organic diseases cannot be healed by such means. Then it is not healing by divine power, but is only the exercise of one mortal mind over another and generally with the purpose to deceive and often for unworthy and criminal purposes. Could any one conceive of Jesus resorting to any such means of healing the sick? He certainly did not, for his healing was not confined to functional diseases nor was it ever necessary for him to send a patient to a doctor or resort to drugs to heal a disease because it was organic.

The difference between the operation of hypnotism and suggestion, and divine healing as practiced by Jesus, is so apparent that the two cannot by any possibility be confounded one with another. The practice of hypnotism is not a new discovery. It has been followed for many years. It is a common remedy with medical practitioners, and has been for a long time, simply because drugs have been proved by them to be ineffectual as a healing agency, and hypnotism has been taken up as an aid, and often as a substitute. But no reputable physician has ever claimed that organic diseases can be healed by this means; much less has it been regarded as divine healing. Physicians must be

smiling in their sleeves at the churches claiming this old and exceedingly ineffectual remedy of theirs to be divine. They are probably as greatly amused at the effort to join hypnotism, in the hands of the church, with drugs in the hands of the doctors, and calling them God's means of healing all manner of diseases, when they have demonstrated so thoroughly that as against both of these alleged means of cure there are many diseases that are absolutely incurable. So their combined means of healing leave them precisely where they were before and leave thousands of sufferers from so-called incurable diseases "without hope and without God in the world." And this they call divine healing. Is it not singular that the churches and Christian people should so limit the power of God? There was no such limitation in Jesus' practice of healing. There is no such limitation in Christian Science healing. Thousands of the healings in Christian Science have been of what to drugs and hypnotism and suggestion, singly or combined, are incurable. And yet the advocates of this mode of healing, that leaves multitudes of sufferers in hopeless bondage to incurable diseases, have the assurance to criticize and denounce Christian Science which is healing the diseases they are wholly unable to relieve.

But there is another side to the question worthy of serious consideration. It is the well-known and indisputable fact that the practice of hypnotism is dangerous, and often resorted to for evil and criminal purposes. Professor G. C. Mars, in his admirable work, *The Interpretation of Life*, uses this language:

"But while we have here come upon a general law of mental suggestion, there are two things absolutely necessary before the application of such a law can be made rational and beneficent for the healing of disease. First, hypnotism must be eliminated as inimical to the highest moral aims. To subject one personality to helplessness under the almost complete control of another, not only makes pos-

sible dangerous forms of malpractice, but is always humiliating to the patient, and at best ambiguous. Persons are not irresponsible things. Besides, if there is any power in suggestion to the subconscious or unconscious mind, it ought to be raised into the free, rational, self-conscious control of the individual whose immediate welfare is concerned. In the second place, there is needed the great word of suggestion that will have in it the dynamic power of displacing discordant errors for the efficient and harmonizing truth."

In an article in the *American Magazine* for October, 1908, Van Eden, an M.D. and an expert on hypnotism, says:

"The way in which I saw some French experimentators treat their patients seemed to me really revolting. The poor hospital patients were used as fit matter for demonstration before students and visitors who wanted to see the power of suggestion. By constant training they became so utterly servile that they followed the slightest hint of the doctor, their master, with the quick docility of animals in a circus. They would see all sorts of visions, take on any change of personality, and play any rôle that was indicated to them by a single word. The doctor used to deny any supposition of danger or harm done in this way. He felt himself so entirely master of the situation that he could eliminate all harmful consequence and restore mind and body to complete integrity by his suggestion.

"I could not prove that any real harm was done, yet I felt a strong reluctance to create such a condition of entire servility in a fellow-man, and I maintained this standpoint against the French doctors at the congress of experimental psychology at London in 1894. We distinguished three states of hypnosis in which suggestion could be effectively given; the first, or slight hypnosis; the second, or cataleptic state, in which members of the patient kept the position given to them by the operator; and the third, automatic state or somnambulism, in which indi-

cated movements were automatically continued, and all remembrance of what had happened during the sleep was lost upon awaking. And the Nancy school maintained that in order to give the most effective treatment every patient should be brought, if possible, into the third state of somnambulism, in which his own volition is entirely suspended and he becomes an automaton, governed only by the will of the doctor."

In the same magazine Hutchinson, M.D., in an article on "The Curiosities of Sleep," says of hypnotic sleep:

"The last remaining counterfeit of sleep, the hypnotic trance, is so obviously different in character that its discrepancies hardly need to be mentioned. Every one who has seen it will be struck with the difference. It has no relation to fatigue, but may be induced at any time and at any stage of vigor, though most commonly and easily in individuals whose mental processes are at such a low ebb that there really is not much difference between their sleeping and waking stages as far as any practical results are concerned. It is not recuperative, but rather depressing, and the patient feels, as he says, queer and dizzy when he wakes up. Instead of the brain being anemic, it is congested, the skin is pale instead of flushed, and there is no increase in the relative oxygen intake. In fact, the condition is an auto-narcosis, or perversion of consciousness, and does nothing but harm, instead of good. It may, of course, be used in expert hands as a method of treatment, but its field of usefulness in this regard is becoming more and more limited every year, and the tremendous claims made for it by Bernheim and the Nancy school have dwindled already to a surprising extent.

"The chief question which has always confronted us in our efforts to utilize it, 'How can a weak mind be made stronger by becoming absolutely dependent upon another?' still faces us unanswered."

And again:

"Hypnotics have their place in medicine like other poisonous drugs, but that

place is becoming steadily smaller as cases are more painstakingly and intelligently studied."

The writer has witnessed the exercise of hypnotism carrying the victim through the stages mentioned in the above quotation from Van Eden, resulting in complete unconsciousness so far as could be seen, and leaving the persons operated upon completely at the will and mercy of the operator so-called. And this is the power that the churches propose to use in the effort to heal disease and to exercise it under the name "divine healing." Is it divine healing in any sense? God never established a law or principle of healing that could be used for evil purposes. The work of healing done by Jesus was divine. It was not only healing but regenerating in its influence. Jesus never hypnotized any one as a means of healing. He never assumed power to control any one by his own power or suggestion. He claimed no power of his own. He said, "I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear I judge; and my judgment is just because I seek not mine own will but the will of the Father. . . . If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true." And again: "The Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise."

Not only so but he commanded his disciples to do the work he did and declared, without reservation, that any one who believed on him could do the works and even greater works than he did. His disciples did do the work of healing and never attributed it to their own power of suggestion, or hypnotism, but to the omnipotence of God. When Peter and John healed the lame man at the gate of the temple called Beautiful, and the people wondered Peter said: "Ye men of Israel why marvel ye at this? or why look ye so earnestly on us though by our own power or holiness we had made this man well?" And referring to Jesus he said further: "And his name through faith in his name hath made this man strong, whom ye see

and know; yea the faith which by him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all."

This healing did not savor of hypnotism or mental suggestion. It was, like the healings by Jesus, the result of spiritual power and understanding. It was divine healing. It is inconceivable that God could resort to a power that can be used for evil purposes as well as good to bring about his own beneficent purposes or that His divine power could be used by the ungodly in furtherance of their wicked designs. Besides, this misnamed divine healing, by hypnotism or mental suggestion, eliminates the element of faith so commonly dwelt upon by Jesus in his own work. In another place the writer said: * "Jesus' spiritual vision was so clear, his reliance upon God so absolute and implicit, and his own motives, fraught with Love divine, so pure, that the thought or attitude of the sufferer, if only he sought help, was easily overcome and the healing made certain. Nevertheless it is obvious from Jesus' own sayings that he looked upon the faith of the seeker after health as of consequence. He said of the centurion, 'Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.' And to the centurion he said, 'Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour.' When they brought him the man sick of the palsy, 'Jesus, seeing their faith, said unto the sick of the palsy: Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee. . . . Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.' To the woman who touched the hem of his garment, expecting thereby to be healed, he said, 'Be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour.' He touched the eyes of the blind men, saying, 'According to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened.' To the woman who in her humility and faith asked only the crumbs from the table, he said, 'O woman, great is thy

faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made whole from that very hour.' When the disciples failed to heal the lunatic and asked the Master why, he said, 'Because of your unbelief: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.' To the blind man who, in answer to his inquiry, 'What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?' replied, 'Lord, that I might receive my sight,' he said, 'Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole.' And immediately he received his sight. So when Peter asked concerning the barren fig-tree which was withered away, the Master said, 'Have faith in God. . . . Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass; he shall have whatsoever he saith.' To the woman who had sinned, but who anointed his feet at the Pharisee's table, he said: 'Thy sins are forgiven. . . . Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.' When his apostles cried out to him, 'Increase our faith,' he replied, 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea; and it should obey you.' In the case of the ten lepers, who were healed, he said to the one who returned, 'Arise, go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole.' If we turn from these sayings of Jesus to those of some of his apostles and followers, we find reiterated this demand for faith as a means of obtaining the healing. Peter, in explaining to the people the healing of the impotent man at the temple gate called Beautiful, accused them of having 'killed the Prince of life, who, God hath raised from the dead'; and said, 'And his name through faith in his name hath made this man strong, whom ye see and know: yea, the faith which is by him hath given him

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this perfect soundness in the presence of you all.' So Paul, seeing a certain 'man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked,' and 'perceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked.'"

There is still another difference between divine healing as Jesus taught and practiced it, and hypnotism or mesmerism, of transcendent importance. His healing was constantly coupled with his sense of forgiveness of sin. He said many times in connection with the healing: "Thy sins be forgiven thee." When he had healed the man sick of the palsy, and the scribes "said within themselves, This man blasphemeth," he said: "Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then saith he to the sick of the palsy) Arise, take up thy bed and go unto thine house."

Christian Scientists believe that every act of divine healing is at once a process of spiritual regeneration, in some degree, making the person healed better morally as well as physically. It must be evident that every one healed by divine power is brought to that extent under subjection to the divine will and atonement with God. Therefore, he must be, to that extent, a better man. The fact that divine healing does uplift man spiritually and improve his morals has been abundantly proved in Christian Science in the changed lives of its followers and the upbuilding of the church.

It is not the purpose of anything that is said here to discourage any church in the effort to fulfil the command of Jesus to heal the sick. It is a solemn duty resting upon all Christian people, and there is

work for all to do. Neither is there any intent to question the sincerity of any church or individual attempting to comply with this call to religious duty. The purpose has been rather to prevent, if possible, the grave mistake of resorting to material and ineffectual attempts at healing supposing and leading others to believe it to be divine healing. The misfortune of any such effort is twofold: It must necessarily fail in its object and the innocent suffer, and it will tend to bring discredit upon and weaken faith in genuine divine healing.

Hypnotism, mesmerism and suggestion are amongst the evils against which Christian Science is opposing its influence. They are of the carnal mind which Paul says is death and can only be overcome by the spiritual mind which is eternal life. It is this spiritual mind that workers in Christian Science are constantly invoking to rid the sick and sinful from the evil influence of mesmerism and suggestion to which most of their ills are traceable. And now they must meet and overcome this additional suggestion of the power of hypnotism as divine. But like all other assumed powers of evil masquerading in sheep's clothing, it will be overcome by good, by the very power it erroneously assumes to be.

People, in their eagerness to receive the benefits of divine healing, within their own churches, may be misled for a time, by this erroneous claim, but it cannot last. It may be that the awakening from this error may lead on to better things. The effort would be commendable if only it were rightly directed and the churches were really entering upon the work of divine healing as Jesus taught and practiced it, a work that they have too long delayed.

JOHN D. WORKS.

Los Angeles, California.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP.

BY REV. ELIOT WHITE,

Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship for Massachusetts.

THE STIGMA, "anti-religious," still clings to Socialism despite the American party's official declarations that it is not concerned with matters of religious belief, and despite the outspoken acceptance of the complete Socialist program by large numbers of clergymen and lay people in the many Christian organizations.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship has set itself the task of removing this prejudice by showing the followers of the Nazarene in our time that Socialism presents the most scientific and wise plan so far devised, for conforming modern industry and business to the teachings of the Master. A Christian who engages in worldly affairs must compromise with his ethical principles. This because profit-taking without which there can be no financial success, is incompatible with the commands Christ gave his followers for all ages. So far as the modern church supports the present system of private ownership in the means of the people's life, it is trying to serve both God and Mammon. The result is as disastrous as the Master foretold. Such at any rate are some of the convictions which impel the members of the Christian Socialist Fellowship to carry on their work of persuasion and appeal to an arousing religious conscience toward social problems.

The object of the Fellowship, as specified in its constitution is "To permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus; to show that Socialism is the necessary economic expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth."

As showing the relation of the Fellowship to the Socialist party, the following

resolution addressed to that body is important: "As active members of the Socialist party we thoroughly accept the economic interpretation of social and political causes, and have no desire to qualify it by any revisionist demand; and we are fully convinced that, as a matter of policy, the party ought strictly to avoid every form of religious and anti-religious theory or dogma on the lecture platform and in the party publications; and that such opinion should be regarded as a private matter, every one having the fullest liberty of belief and expression as an individual. In other words, that the Socialist party stands for economic and in no sense whatever for religious or anti-religious propaganda."

The importance of this resolution is constituted in a two-fold way. In the first place attempts have been made in America as well as in other countries, by a few members of the party, to force upon the Socialist movement the brand of "atheism" which the Christian Socialist Fellowship combats with firm, and it is hoped, kindly opposition, being in this thoroughly supported by the party's own decided and repeated declarations. In the second place, the so-called "Christian Socialist" movements in European countries, Austria and Denmark, for example, have sometimes been vehemently hostile to genuine Socialism, and enemies masquerading as sympathizers. The American movement very naturally therefore has had to overcome a fear on the part of old members of the Socialist party, that the Fellowship intended to do all it could to break down the true proletarian revolution already far advanced. The Fellowship has therefore done well to express its clear-cut position on both these issues. It is pleasant to add that suspicion of its purposes has almost

entirely given way to cordial appreciation of its valuable services, on the part of Socialists not officially enrolled in its ranks.

The first Christian Socialist paper, *The Dawn*, was published in America in the eighties, in Boston, edited by an Episcopal clergyman, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. Later a "Christian Socialist League" was organized and obtained members in various parts of the country. In Chicago the "Social Crusaders" met with considerable success, and conducted a monthly paper called *The Social Crusader*. In 1904, by an interesting coincidence, Rev. Edward E. Carr and his wife arranged to issue another paper, *The Christian Socialist*, at Danville, Illinois, when they learned of a periodical of the same name edited by Oscar F. Donaldson in Iowa. A correspondence which ensued between the Carrs and Donaldson resulted in a uniting of their forces; the headquarters of *The Christian Socialist* were removed to Danville, and in 1906 to Chicago, where Rev. J. O. Bentall, now state secretary of the Socialist party for Illinois, became identified with the paper. This organ of the Fellowship has steadily increased in efficiency and influence; it is issued twice a month, and has on its list of paid subscribers over 2,000 ministers of all denominations, besides the thousands of its supporters in the ranks of the laity and those owning no church allegiance whatever. From time to time special editions are issued, for example, the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Temperance and Campaign "Specials." The largest issue yet attained was the Temperance, edition after edition being consumed until 75,000 copies were printed.

That the "anti-religious" stigma on American Socialism is undeserved would seem to be proved by the identification of religious men and women with the movement from the start. Many books quoted as authorities within and without the party were written by clergymen, and other men of the same profession have served as Representatives in state legislatures. In September, 1908, a list was

published in *The Christian Socialist* of 161 ministers, representing over 20 denominations, who signed a manifesto expressing the following clear-cut Socialist belief:

"To the Clergymen and Churches of All Denominations in America, Greeting:

"Brethren—We, who are ministers to congregations of various denominations, hereby declare our adherence to the following purpose:

"1. To permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions, with the Social Message of the Bible; to show that Socialism is the economic expression of the religious life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth.

"2. We believe that the economic teaching of the Scriptures would find its fulfilment in the coöperative commonwealth of modern Socialism.

"3. We believe that the present social system, based as it is upon the sin of covetousness, makes the ethical life as inculcated by religion impracticable; and should give place to a social system founded on the 'Golden Rule' and the 'Royal Law' of the Kingdom of God, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' which, realized under the Coöperative Commonwealth of Socialism, will create an environment favorable to the practice of religious life.

"4. We accordingly urge with utmost earnestness that all our brethren in the ministry and the people in all churches search the Scriptures and study the philosophy of Socialism, that they may see if our belief be not indeed God's very truth."

Five of the 161 signers hail from Canada, all the rest from the United States. A few, though not at present in charge of parishes, are in "good standing" in their denominations, and engaged in religious or social work, or both, if indeed there be any distinction possible between these definitions. The immense amount of work involved in securing the list was performed by Rev. John D. Long, pastor of Parkside Presbyterian Church, Brook-

lyn, New York, and general secretary of the Fellowship. He believes that by withholding the manifesto from publication half a year longer, he could have increased the number of signers indefinitely, and he states that whereas he had on his files at the beginning of 1908 the names of forty ministers who were enough interested in Socialism to receive literature bearing on it, he had in September of the same year sixteen hundred.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to state that the burden of editing and financing *The Christian Socialist* in the days of struggle for its existence, and the toil of organizing the Fellowship, were exceedingly heavy. To Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, minister of the Methodist church, and his wife with her brave spirit, is chiefly due the gratitude of those who appreciate the effective work for social righteousness now being accomplished by the agencies established in the face of stupendous discouragements. Although receiving a large salary from the parish he was serving, Rev. Mr. Carr left all to labor for Socialism, and though always supported by Mrs. Carr's unflinching resolution, he was obliged for some years to fight desperately for existence for himself and family. Surely a movement built upon such self-sacrifice and devotion calls for at least respectful consideration on the part of thinking and religious people.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship now has district secretaries in 26 states, the District of Columbia and the province of New Brunswick, Canada, and is represented by its membership in 35 states and three territories of the United States, as well as in four Canadian provinces. Chapters, or "centers" are established wherever feasible, to carry on the educational and propaganda work of the Fellowship among the local religious bodies, to provide for the discussion of social and economic questions from a religious viewpoint, to distribute literature, arrange for lectures, extend the circulation of *The Christian Socialist* and perform any other work that properly comes within the prov-

ince of the organization according to its constitution.

It is especially laid down in the resolutions adopted at the Second Annual Conference at Chicago, in 1907, "That the meetings of the centers be held at such times as will not conflict with the services of the churches, and that the centers work as much with and in the churches as possible, in every way endeavoring to correct the misunderstanding that the teachings of Jesus and the philosophy of Socialism are in conflict."

Successful conferences of the Fellowship during 1908 have been conducted in New York, Baltimore, Asbury Park, New Jersey, and Old Orchard, Maine, and a tent was erected and maintained through the summer at Coney Island, presenting lectures and entertainments bearing upon Socialism. The latter project was originated and carried through by the tireless energy of the general secretary, Rev. Dr. Long, assisted by contributions from the rank and file of the membership. The expenses of the national organization of the Fellowship are met by private contributions and by membership fees (one dollar a year).

The success so far attained by the Fellowship would not have been possible without the sustained enthusiasm and support of the Christian laymen who have given time, thought and money to it through the years of trial. George H. Strobell of Newark, a deacon in the Presbyterian church, and Rufus W. Weeks, formerly actuary and now a vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company, besides O. F. Donaldson, already named, have never ceased to hold up the hands of the pioneers among the clergy.

Quotations from the writings of Mr. Strobell and Mr. Weeks will, I feel sure, be welcome here, as enlightening statements of the Christian Socialist's position. In a pamphlet by the former, called "A Christian View of Socialism," the author says:

"There is a distinct gain to every Christian who learns the Socialist philosophy.

Can any one imagine the keen delight that came to the analytic and constructive mind of Paul the Apostle when he saw all the confusing elements of the old religion, all its apparent failures as prophecy and as a law of life, all the previous revelations to his race; all the disquieting instincts of man's spiritual nature, all his hopes and aspirations toward the Infinite, all these come into a glorious harmony? The plan of redemption was complete, the confusion became order. Can you wonder he burned to tell men what he saw?

"In due time, when mankind is ready for it, there comes a revelation of God's plan for the redemption of our earthly life. It is so wonderful that it creates all the old impassioned fervor of the early Christians. It is sent as of old to the poor and lowly, and the witness of the Holy Spirit is not wanting in this new dispensation. Those touched by this holy zeal are like the first martyrs, enduring persecution and starvation and death itself for their ideal. They wander everywhere preaching the glad tidings to all nations. They see that all the previous experiences of the race, all the hopes and aspirations of man for man on earth fit into the collectivist plan; and as in these latter days they see development of the new order—every year a mighty step forward—can they hold their peace? They are working, a great host already, for the coming of the coöperative commonwealth; they are telling the glad news of an economic salvation to earth's burden-bearers.

"For the first time in the history of the world there is an intelligent and systematized movement toward the conscious organization of a just society. It is the Socialist movement now on its way to a speedy triumph in all civilized nations. It is worth studying in all its phases."

Mr. Weeks, in a paper read at the New York Conference last May, says:

"An accurate account of the Christian Socialists must begin with the statement that they do not stand for Christian Socialism. This is a paradox, but it is a fact; and it is true simply because, properly

speaking, there is no Christian Socialism. For while Socialism entails enormous social and ethical consequences, and while it lays claim to weighty ethical sanctions, yet, intrinsically and in itself, Socialism is neither more nor less than a political force, proceeding on economic fact, and there can therefore no more be two kinds—a Christian Socialism and a non-Christian Socialism—than there could be a Christian and a non-Christian protection or free trade.

"The Christians who are Socialists agree with their non-Christian comrades in holding to the basic doctrine of tactics—the Marxist doctrine—that economic mass-interest is the impelling motive, the driving force, which alone can be depended on to work the great world-change demanded—that same mass-interest which has in fact been the chief agency in working the world-changes of the past. . . . The specific force to be depended on is the impulse toward united action for self-interest which has sprung up naturally and as an instinct in one class of mankind alone—the wage-earning manual workers; that in brief the propensity of the proletariat to union is the main reliance. . . .

"The question is often asked of Christian Socialists: 'Since you admit that there is no distinctive kind of Socialism which could be called Christian Socialism, why do you call yourselves Christian Socialists?' A natural question. . . . The special motive which distinguishes them from other Socialists has four phases:

"The Christian Socialist is in part animated by the love of the church. He desires to be able to honor the church, and to see her honored among men. This, he is well convinced, is no longer possible if the church lags too far behind in the march of the social mind of mankind. Neither ethically nor intellectually is the church now leading; and this seems almost monstrous to the Christian Socialist. He feels it unnatural that there should be outside the church a wider outlook and a more piercing forecast than

within; that outside the church there should be a body of men more devoted to the war for freeing mankind from the chains of Mammon than within; and he longs and labors to have the church take its rightful place in this war.

"For the second phase of the Christian motive applied to Socialist action, we take that special sentiment of the heart which makes man Christian, and in which I think may be found the most vital definition of the Christian religion. One of Matthew Arnold's carefully-weighed sentences reads thus: 'The vital force of Christianity lies in the boundless confidence, consolation and attachment which the whole being and discourse of Jesus inspire.' This passion has a mighty bearing on the agitation for social justice. The lover of Jesus craves to know him as he really was—to love what Jesus loved, to hate what he hated, to tread in his footsteps. Such a one, after he has learned Socialism, reads the Gospels anew, and it is as if scales had fallen from his eyes; he sees there what he never saw before, what the Christian church has forgotten, though it is there on the page. . . . The Christian Socialists share that mystic faith which is the very core of the Christian experience, and to their feeling Christ is here among the people, animating the actual living movement against his old foe Mammon, even though that movement be largely manned by those who are anti-Christian in their formal attitude.

"Jesus did not encourage his friends to sentimentalize over him; he strove to transmute their love for his person into devotion to all human beings who need help. 'Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep; feed my lambs.' . . . Herein we have the third strand of our cord. For the Christian Socialist has learned to see what stress Jesus laid on the economic aspect of the Kingdom of God. His saying, 'Man shall not live by bread alone,' carries two messages—the one direct, the other implied. . . . Bread must be had, and ought to be had by all; and this is the lesson which is timely now, for now

at last is the demand a feasible one that livelihood be secured for all. . . . For the last half-century the spokesmen of religion and culture have chanted with one voice, 'Man's chief need is spiritual food.' By this they mean—a diet of words; and the idea has merit, for he who dispenses that diet does not thereby reduce his own supply of more substantial fare. These lofty-minded teachers have rebuked the Socialistic cry of 'Bread all around, first of all'—and have chastised the low materialist mind which such a cry reveals and encourages.

"The fourth strand in the cord, the final phase of the Christian motive applied to Socialist action, is the theistic passion. Mankind has always felt itself to be in the grasp of an eternal resistless power—a power felt but only partly known; and before this eternal power mankind has always stood, wistful, looking up as it were into the unseen face, questioning: 'Art Thou friendly? Art Thou just? May we adore Thee?' At this day the adorability of God is doubted by a larger proportion of mankind than ever before; indeed it seems to me that half the proof to human satisfaction of this desired truth is still to come.

"What, then, has to happen, in order to make God again adorable to the masses of mankind, to those who lie under the pressure of the possessing classes, as well as to those of the possessing classes who have become conscious of the cruelty of their privileges? It is plain to the Christian Socialist what has to be done: the human race has to bind itself into an economic whole, to the end that each young human being, emerging into economic life, may find the conditions which confront him fair and equal; that the place where he may serve the world with his faculty, whatever it is, may be ready for him and assured to him, and that his equal living in the human family may also be assured him.

"This necessarily means the coöperative commonwealth, as the Socialists picture it; and the Christian Socialists be-

lieve that this is Jesus' 'Kingdom of God' in the fundamental plane of life, the economic. In laboring to bring in this commonwealth, the Christian Socialists feel that they are doing their little best toward the establishing of the modern experimental proof of God's goodness, which mankind is awaiting: their little best therefore toward the bringing in of God Himself into the heart of mankind."

Rev. Mr. Carr's earnest admonition to those who would try to tell others of the spirit and purpose of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, is to make clear that "it is as frankly and honestly devoted to Christianity as it is to Socialism; it is not in the slightest opposed to the churches, but is entirely inter-denominational in its method and sympathetic in its spirit toward the churches."

As a result of Mr. Carr's work abroad during the summer of 1907, the Fellowship has been organized in England and France. The first English conference was recently held in London. Not only has a conference been already held in France, but the members of the Fellowship there have begun issuing a paper called *The Hope of the World*.

In Germany and German Switzerland a strong coterie of Socialist ministers, including Pastors Herman Kutter and Paul Pflueger of Zurich, Ragaz of Basle, Liederben of Berlin, and many others, have inaugurated a similar movement. They purpose to issue a Christian-Socialist paper. Under the leadership of Giovanni Meille, at Naples, a Christian-

Socialist paper called *L'Avanguardia* has already appeared.

In conclusion, it is fully realized by the members of the Fellowship that their activity is criticized on the ground that they are bearing down too heavily on the social side of Christianity. It seems often to be taken for granted that they have lost grasp on the spiritual fundamentals of their religion, because they do not devote as much time as others to exegesis and theological dogma—yet this is the opposite of the truth.

The Christian Socialists answer that in these days of slow awakening of the church's conscience to her neglect of the economic and social messages of the Bible, and her large failure to apply the "simple Gospel" to the crying needs of modern life, those among clergy and laity who have had the new vision and are striving that their brethren may discern the same glorious revelation, must necessarily seem one-sided and sometimes neglectful of theological detail. This is inevitable as long as the majority of Christians remain one-sided on their part, in refusal to consider the social claims, and fail as representatives of the Master to put to the test his ability to meet this age's salient problems.

The Christian Socialists have not ceased to be Christians, and they long for the day when the whole church shall realize the unprecedented opportunity that Socialism offers, to prepare the way of her Lord upon earth and to hasten His Kingdom.

ELIOT WHITE.

Worcester, Massachusetts.

THE RATIONALE OF COMMON-OWNERSHIP.

BY WALDO PONDRAY WARREN.

THE CAREFUL observer of industrial conditions needs no extensive argument to convince him that a great idea, revolutionary in its character, is rapidly and surely making its way into the universal consciousness—the idea of the self-evident justice and equity of Common-Ownership.

This idea makes an immediate and lasting appeal to the thoughtful man who realizes that there are many fundamental defects in the present prevalent method of business organization. A common-ownership enterprise in Chicago has demonstrated the soundness of the idea to 2,500 shareholders, who, in common, own the business, and run it by elected officers. The growth and vitality of the idea are indicated in the rather remarkable statement that the average annual increase in the volume of trade for the past six years has been 94 per cent. The value of the plan, from the stockholder's point-of-view, is indicated in the fact that a dividend of 10 per cent. on the all-common stock has been paid for the past four years—as against an average dividend of 4 per cent. on the common stock, and 5 3-5 per cent. on the preferred stock, of fifty of the best known industrial companies of the country.

The Common-Ownership idea is revolutionary in that it is based on the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, in contrast with the time-honored system of private ownership, which is too often the stronghold of the few against the many.

The prevalent method of business organization, whereby one man or a group of men control a business, determine its course, fix its policy, and pocket its profits, while hundreds or perhaps thousands of others whose money or industry go to make the success of the business, have little or no voice in its management, and

where money has been invested, have little or no share in the actual profits of the enterprise—such a method of business organization is, in a fundamental way, the antithesis of Common-Ownership.

In a Common-Ownership organization no one man or clique of men is in control, no one owns a controlling interest, no one has preferred claims, and no one has authority that is not derived from the consent of the majority of stockholders.

While these two methods of organization are fundamentally different, both have points in common, grounded in constitutional rights, and both will therefore continue.

But the growth of the idea of common-ownership raises a question of great significance to the commercial world. That question is:

To what extent is the principle of Common-Ownership, by virtue of its justice and equity, destined to supersede private ownership of the industries which involve the necessities of life?

Or, to state the question in another way, *Is the principle of Common-Ownership destined, in any large measure, to supersede private ownership?*

It is the purpose of this article to demonstrate two things:

1. That Common-Ownership is destined to supersede private ownership in an increasing measure.
2. That private ownership will properly and necessarily remain an important factor in industrial development, and will never be entirely superseded.

There is a fundamental difference between a Common-Ownership organization, and a coöperative society, although they have many points in common. In treating of the development of the central idea, which contrasts with private ownership, it will be necessary, at certain points, to consider them together; but for the

sake of a clear understanding of the points wherein they differ, it is well first to consider that difference.

The coöperative society, such as is being very extensively developed in England, Ireland, Scotland and America, is an organization of buyers, whose aim is to combine their orders, and secure the lowest prices on the necessities of life; as well as to work out various improvements for their own welfare which can be better done by working together.

The Common-Ownership organization is an organization of owners of an enterprise, who may or may not be buyers of its wares. They pool their capital on a strictly equal basis, for the development of a business, and share alike, according to the amount of their investment, in the fortunes and management of the company.

These two methods of organization meet on common ground in that they are both based on a closer application of the economic law than the privately-owned business.

It is upon this principle that they have grown, and it is upon this principle that they are destined to grow and to supersede, in an increasing measure, the method of private ownership.

The economic law, as here meant, is the law of economy, which tends to eliminate all unnecessary expense, and to secure a maximum result at a minimum expenditure of time, labor and material.

If it were granted that the coöperative or Common-Ownership idea is identical with that economic law, and that the privately-owned business is not, it would be admitted, as a matter of course, that Common-Ownership is destined, by right of economy, to become the dominant force in the future organization of the world.

As many, however, not having analyzed the subject, are not ready to grant this point, it may be well to present the rationale of Common-Ownership.

Common-Ownership, as the term is here used, is that form or industrial organization wherein the ownership and control

rests in the whole body of stockholders, and not in an individual, or clique of individuals, whose interests are paramount to those of other stockholders. This statement of the term is broad enough to include the coöperative society, the business of which is owned in common.

To further define the term, we may say that all the methods of industrial organization are divided into two classes: Common-Ownership and other methods. The other methods, which are thus contrasted with Common-Ownership, are:

(a) The corporation which has stockholders, but in which the majority of the stock is owned and controlled by an individual or clique of men, enabling them to dominate the activities of the business.

(b) The close corporation whose stock is held by a small number of persons, and not available for purchase.

(c) The privately-owned business not incorporated.

(d) The industry owned by state, national or municipal government, or governed by political influences.

These four forms of organization are collectively and individually different from Common-Ownership.

It now remains to demonstrate that Common-Ownership more nearly utilizes the full force of the economic law than do each of the other forms of organization; and this being proved, the supremacy and inevitable tendency of Common-Ownership to supersede private ownership, becomes apparent.

The first method of organization which we shall consider is that of the corporation which has stockholders, but in which a majority of the stock is controlled by a minority of the stockholders. This method violates the economic law in the following points:

(a) It either claims or does not claim equal rights to stockholders. If it does not claim them it involves an element of friction. If it does claim them, it cannot give them, by its very method of organization, and thus gives rise to discord, abuse of privilege, and internal strife, all of

which tend to dissipate the force of the organization, and so violates the economic law.

(b) It necessitates paying profit on watered stock, or stock taken on first organization without being paid for on the same basis as investors, and thus lessens the profit on money actually invested.

(c) It leaves the welfare of the business as a whole to the mercy of human nature and its self-seeking tendencies.

(d) It protects the interests of the few rather than the interests of the many.

(e) It involves the policy that might makes right.

Notwithstanding all this, no one can deny that such a method of organization, which gives control to individuals as individuals, has its place. Neither can they deny that it may perform a vital service to society, or that it will not continue, in some form, perhaps as long as our present form of government shall endure. It involves certain inalienable rights of the individual, such as the ownership of property, the right of contract and the right of self-government, which neither justice nor common consent will ever withhold. The point, then, is not that this form of organization is so fundamentally wrong that it will cease with progress, but that it involves fundamental errors which time will tend to eliminate, and that it violates, in several significant ways, the economic law, the enforcement of which is assured so long as motives of self-interest dominate the actions of the majority of mankind.

Next we may consider the close corporation. This form of organization also involves certain inalienable rights which never can be justly taken away. But it also involves a violation of the economic law which the demands of that law will tend to eliminate. It makes it possible for a few men to take to themselves a larger portion of the wealth produced by hundreds of others than their own services to the common good represent. This in turn deprives others of their proper share

of the wealth they have produced, lessens the ability of their class to consume, and thus afford a market for, the products of their labor. That it is possible for a close corporation to be so managed that any unintentional abuses of this power may be counterbalanced by the service it renders to society, is evident. But it is the ever-present possibility of misuse, and the liberty which it affords to the human desire to dominate others, which represents the element in this form of organization which time and progress, urged by the economic law, will tend to eliminate.

Much that has just been said of the close corporation is true of the privately-owned business not incorporated. On the one hand it involves the inalienable right of the individual to hold property, and on the other the self-evident injustice of allowing an individual to monopolize, even by virtue of legitimate purchase, a commodity which by its nature and use is the rightful heritage of all. The right of the greatest good to the greatest number must tend to restrict the individual right when it conflicts with the general good. Ownership and control by the right of discovery, upon which is based the most common form of monopoly, is not an inalienable right, as is recognized in the case of streams and bodies of water, but less so in the deposits and products of the earth.

The right of the whole people, through national, state, or municipal government, to hold property, to produce commodities, render service, buy and sell, is universally recognized. But that the government has no right to maintain a monopoly that would jeopardize the right of the individual to hold, buy, sell, or produce property, is evident. Even in countries where this is done it represents the principle that might makes right, rather than the greatest good to the greatest number. Government-ownership therefore could be established only through the open and legitimate competition of the government with individuals living under the government, and not through monopolizing

methods. The government may handle the mails on a very extensive scale, but it cannot rightly prevent one individual from carrying a letter for another if they choose to do so. The inability of a government enterprise to consider the interests of the whole people, and at the same time render profits to individual stockholders above the price at which it could secure funds with which to conduct the business for the treasury profit, would preclude the absorption of individual fortunes as stockholders in a government-owned enterprise. The method of organization necessary to government control violates the economic law in many well-known ways, and this would exclude it from ever gaining an equality with Common-Ownership in its application of the inexorable law of economy.

It may now be shown that all the permanent and inalienable rights involved in these four forms of organization are present in the principle of Common-Ownership, and also that the errors and injustices possible and prevalent under the other forms are not present.

In the first place, Common-Ownership is founded on the inalienable right of the individual to hold property, the right of contract, and the right of self-government, within the restrictions of the laws framed under the Constitution. The right of contract involves the right of individuals to associate their capital and efforts under agreed forms. No movement, involving justice, will ever tend to eliminate these rights, and yet they virtually imply all that is implied in the idea of Common-Ownership.

Furthermore, Common-Ownership does not, so far as its method of organization is concerned, violate the economic law in

any particular. It recognizes the rule of the majority, the right of adequate representation, the right of publicity for the acts of its representatives, the protection of the common interest from private manipulation and self-interest, the equal rights of stockholders according to the amount invested, and limits expenses to those things which represent a distinct service to the common interest.

The willingness with which the principle of Common-Ownership allows others, according to investment, to participate equally in the ownership and control and the profits of the enterprise, removes effectively and summarily the claim that Common-Ownership would become private monopoly under another name. If a Common-Ownership company owned all the coal lands in the country it would not be a private monopoly for the individuals composing that company so long as others could buy and sell its shares. Meeting all other forms of business on a basis of open competition, it affords a fair test of its claim to represent the economic law, and virtually stands or falls by that law.

Being, then, more firmly established on the economic law, and on the greatest good to the greatest number, and on certain inalienable rights of the individual, Common-Ownership, more than any other form of business organization claims the true solution of the problem of ownership and control of the industries involving the necessities of life. It is based on a vital principle which suggests its permanence, its inevitable growth, and perhaps its ultimate development as the true basis of the universal brotherhood of man.

WALDO PONDRAY WARREN.

Chicago, Illinois.

"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE" AS A DRAMA AND AS A RELIGIOUS ALLEGORY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

IT IS a notable fact that the most truly powerful and soul-searching sermon of recent years has been delivered not in cathedral, church or chapel, but in the theater, and uttered not by gowned and mitred priest or dark-robed minister, but by a band of earnest actors who faithfully strove to interpret the new-old message as the author desired to have it voiced. And it is equally significant that this message luminous with the vital principles of pure and undefiled religion, was so gladly received by the people that the play has proved one of the greatest successes of recent years.

The text of this great sermon, which the author, Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, has named "The Servant in the House," is thus given by the playwright:

"He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes. . . . If a man say, 'I love God,' and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

"The hunger for brotherhood is at the bottom of the unrest of the modern civilized world."

In these lines from the Epistle of St. John and from the writings of George Frederick Watts, we have the keynote of the spiritual message given in this remarkable play.

But it must not be supposed that the excellence of "The Servant in the House" lies merely in its message to the conscience

of Christian civilization. It is a distinctly great dramatic creation, appealing in a compelling way to the esthetic, intellectual and ethical sides of man's being. It is a literary masterpiece as true to the artistic requirements of dramatic composition as it is faithful in mirroring forth life as we find it to-day. Moreover, it is, intellectually considered, a noble work, addressing the reason in a manner that cannot fail to impress the thoughtful or serious-minded; while from the spiritual or ethical view-point we incline to the opinion of one able writer who holds that it is the greatest religious allegory since the appearance of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Surely the phenomenal success of such a play should encourage those who have for years insisted that the stage might be made one of the most powerful influences for the intellectual cultivation and moral elevation of the people.

The story opens in a large and richly-appointed room in the home of Vicar William Smythe, one of the central figures in the play. This man has risen to distinction and affluence from poverty, not, however, wholly by his own efforts. When he was small his two elder brothers, Robert and Joshua, being proud of their little brother who took naturally to books, at great personal sacrifice succeeded in putting him through college. He became a brilliant speaker and a fine scholar, a curate of great promise.

Shortly after William had entered college, Joshua sailed for India, where all trace of him was lost.

Robert, a day laborer whose humble occupation was that of cleaning out drains, struggled with a stout heart to support his idolized wife. Shortly after the birth of a little girl baby, the mother died, and the

disconsolate father took to drink. This, however, was not until after William had left college and become a curate.

Among the young women who had fallen in love with him was the beautiful sister of an eminent and worldly-minded divine who was later to become the Bishop of Lancashire. The brother opposed his sister's marrying a poor man, but the girl, being thoroughly infatuated with the handsome and gifted young lover, ran away and married him in spite of the protests and threats of her brother. This woman, Martha by name, idolized her husband and was overmastered by the desire to see him rich, distinguished and honored by the world. The fact that he had a brother who was a drain-man ate like acid into her life, because she, like her thoroughly worldly brother, looked down in contempt on manual laborers. Therefore, when after the death of Robert's wife the latter took to drink, she made his weakness the excuse for inducing William to take Robert's little girl from him and discard the unfortunate brother. This shameful course on the part of the curate, however, was not pursued without an inward protest, and his iniquitous action weighed upon him during the years that followed. He yielded merely because of the overmastering influence of his wife, whose passionate devotion to him and ambition for his career enslaved the less positive husband.

At the time the play opens, fifteen years have elapsed since the clergyman took his brother's little girl to bring up. During this time the brothers have never met, and little Mary has been kept in ignorance of who her father is. The curate has risen to the position of vicar and is officiating in a noble old church; but in spite of his learning and eloquence, his labors bear no fruit and the congregation is rapidly dwindling. The church is in great need of repairs and the clergyman has resorted to various devices for raising the necessary funds, but all to no purpose. A sense of failure and the consciousness of his un-Christian and ignoble treatment of his

brother weigh down the vicar and are undermining his health. Unlike his worldly-minded, popular and rich brother-in-law, now the Bishop of Lancashire, the vicar is striving to serve two masters, God and Mammon, with the inevitable failure ensuing. The Bishop of Lancashire, on the other hand, while for effect he makes hypocritical pretensions, is whole-souled in his service of Mammon and by Mammon is receiving the reward he seeks; while from India comes the news of the wonderful success of the Bishop of Benares, a man of God who is being followed by hundreds of thousands of people. From reports it would seem that he was serving God as wholly as the Bishop of Lancashire is serving Mammon. Both succeed in the way they desire.

It will be readily observed that here we have three clear-cut and distinct types of the so-called religious leaders: (1) The man who uses the cloak of religion for furthering personal ambition and acquiring riches—the wolf in sheep's clothing. (2) The man who is torn between conflicting desires. On the one hand is the ambitious and worldly-wise wife whose idolatry of her husband has bound him to her and led him to turn from what he knows to be his duty, while in other respects he is striving to carry out the Christian ideal. Thus by trying to serve two masters he is failing, being too conscientious to satisfy those who want blind leaders of the blind who are willing to prophesy smooth things, yet walking in spiritual darkness because of his failure to love his brother whom he hath seen. (3) The man who cuts loose from the world, the flesh and the devil and consecrates his life to the service of humanity, even as did the great Prophet of Galilee two thousand years ago.

For some time there has been much talk among the parishioners of evil odors in the church, supposed to be due to defective drains. In less degree the odors are to be detected in the Vicar's library. He fails to recognize them long after his niece, who is highly sensitive, has detected them;

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but his failing health leads the over-anxious wife to have the drain-pipes under the library torn up.

The day before the opening of the play, the Vicar and his wife have received a message from the long-silent brother Robert, the father of little Mary, stating that he is coming to see them on the following day. Martha, the Vicar's wife, is indignant. She is determined that Mary shall never know her father, and that the parishioners shall not suspect that her husband has a brother who is a common workman. She therefore induces the Vicar to telegraph his brother that the house is torn up because of defective drains and that they cannot receive him.

II.

This, in brief, is the situation when the curtain rises revealing a spacious and richly-furnished room. The walls are hung with expensive pictures. A richly-carved mantel rises over the cheerful open fire. An elaborately-carved sideboard, a table, several chairs and a settee are among the furnishings of this room.

Two individuals are discovered busily engaged preparing for the morning meal, which is to be served in this apartment: one a young cockney youth, Rogers by name; the other a tall and striking personage whose face, however, is not seen, as for some time after the curtain rises he is busy at the sideboard. His dress no less than his strikingly impressive bearing at once rivets the attention of the audience. He is clad in Oriental robes, and it soon appears that he is the new butler, Manson by name, an East Indian who has been engaged by the Vicar on the strong recommendation of a friend in the Far East. Manson has only just arrived and has at once entered upon his duties. The loquacious Rogers keeps up a running fire of questions, and finally his curiosity leads to the following dialogue:

ROGERS—Mr. Manson! Do you mind if I ask you a question?

MANSON—No. What is it?

ROGERS—What d' you wear them togs for? This ain't India.

MANSON—People do n't always recognize me in anything else.

[He turns for the first time. His face is one of awful sweetness, dignity and strength. There is the calm of a great mastery about him, suited to his habit as a servant.]

ROGERS—Garn, Mr. Manson, that's a bit orf! Clothes do n't make all that difference, come now! . . .

MANSON—They are the only things the people of this world see.

Here one of the great truths of the play is touched upon. The world and the worldly church are concerned with the externals; the cup and the platter; the whited exterior of the sepulcher that is full of corruption. Clothes stand for the masks and externals by which the world judges, in counterdistinction to the soul or that which is behind the outer seeming that counts in the eyes of the Eternal.

Soon the Vicar enters. He is preparing to leave for an early service, as his two curates are both ill. He is undisguisedly pleased to find the new Oriental butler has arrived; but it now appears that one question disturbs him:

VICAR—My old friend in Brindisi, who recommended you, writes that you bore a very excellent character with your late employer in India; but there was one matter he did n't mention—no doubt you will recognize its importance in a clergyman's family. He never mentioned your religion.

MANSON—I can soon remedy that, sir. My religion is very simple. I love God and all my brothers

VICAR (after a pause) God and your brothers . . .

MANSON—Yes, sir: *all* of them.

[The Vicar stands thoughtful for a moment. He places the paten on the table, beside him.]

VICAR (slowly)—That is not always so easy, Manson; but it is my creed, too.

MANSON—Then—Brother!

[Rapt in thought, the Vicar takes his proffered hand mechanically.]

It is obvious to the audience, by the fine acting of the Vicar, that Manson's answer

has touched the eating sore that is paralyzing his spiritual energies and his abstraction when the Oriental servant takes his hand reveals the fact that the spirit is struggling with its own load.

The entrance of Mary, the beautiful young niece of the Vicar, causes a diversion. She comes as a breath of spring, though her thoughtlessness and childish frankness embarrass the Vicar. Manson, it is seen, is strongly drawn to this highly sensitive child, who bears a name that is very sweet to him.

Just here it may not be out of place to point out the fact that symbolism and allegory are striking characteristics of the play. Even many of the names are highly significant. Manson suggests the idea of Son of Man. Mary, as is later seen, possesses the spiritual intuitive sense that goes to the heart of things, that senses and sees what is for some time hidden from other eyes; while Martha, the Vicar's wife, is absorbed not in spiritual development but in the worldly success of her husband. She is careful about what the world shall say of her loved one rather than for his spiritual well-being. She is as distinctly the Martha type as her little niece is representative of those spiritually intuitive ones who choose the better part.

Mary is attracted to the new servant, and to him she describes how just when her uncle was despairing of finding any aid in his efforts to repair the church, his attention was called to the wonderful work of the Bishop of Benares, and he expressed the wish that he might have some of the power that this great man had at his back, and as if in answer to his prayer, the postman a few moments later delivered a letter to the Vicar which read:

"I shall be with you during to-morrow morning. If any one will help me, I will restore your church. Your brother,

"JOSHUA,

"Bishop of Benares."

Then it is seen that the religious leader, whose name suggests that of the Great Nazarene, is the long-absent brother of the Vicar.

While Mary has been narrating her fairy-like tale, she and Manson have been seated on the settee. She has been somewhat disappointed at Manson's failure to guess who her Uncle Joshua really is:

MARY—Can 't you guess? . . . Think of the very biggest person you ever heard of in this world!

MANSON—In *this* world: that sounds rather like. . . . Does he give free libraries?

The girl is much exercised about the kind of man her uncle is:

MARY—I know exactly what he 'll be—goody-goody, is n't he? You know—religious and all that!

MANSON—God forbid!

MARY (fearfully)—Oh, perhaps he's the other kind—like auntie's brother! He's a bishop—the Bishop of Lancashire. You see, I've heard a lot about bishops in my time, and they're not always quite nice men.

MANSON—And what sort is the Bishop of Lancashire?

MARY—Well, I do n't think I ought to tell you; but I once heard *Uncle William* call him a devil!—and he's a clergyman!

As she ends the story, the following dialogue ensues:

MARY—To think that before the day is out he will be sitting down here, perhaps in this very place, just like . . .

[She breaks off suddenly, gazing at him; for his eyes have taken a strange fire.]

MANSON—Just like I am now . . .

MARY (falteringly)—Yes . . .

MANSON—Talking to you . . .

MARY—Oh! . . . (She rises, afraid).

MANSON (softly)—Mary . . .

MARY (in a whisper)—Who are you?

MANSON—I am . . .

[He is interrupted by the great bell of the church, which tolls the Sanctus. After the third stroke he continues.]

. . . I am the servant in this house. I have my work to do. Would you like to help me?

MARY—What shall I do?

MANSON—Help to spin the fairy-tale. Will you?

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MARY—I will.

MANSON—Then keep the secret—remember! And wish hard.

MARY—Do you believe in wishing?

MANSON—Everything comes true, if you wish hard enough.

MARY—What shall I wish for?

MANSON—What have you needed most? What have you not had? Think it out.

It is seen that instinctively the child has fathomed the mystery. The strange new servant that has so attracted her is none other than the Uncle Joshua, the great religious leader of the East, a fact which is long hidden from the others, however.

Later, Martha enters and exhibits her solicitude for her husband. It also develops that on hearing that the Bishop of Benares was to arrive on the following day, she secretly determined to communicate with her brother, the Bishop of Lancashire, and strive to induce him to visit them and help the Bishop of Benares raise the desired sum. She thinks that in this manner she can win over the Bishop, who has never forgiven the Vicar and his wife, and she knows that he could easily advance her husband in a worldly way. Understanding her brother, she does not for a moment doubt but what he will quickly accept any opportunity offered to meet the famous Bishop of Benares; nor is she mistaken, as the postman brings a letter stating that he will be at the vicarage that morning.

Mary is sent to a sick neighbor's, to cheer an old lady, and Manson goes out to finish preparing the breakfast. The Vicar enters. He is bowed down with grief. There were no persons at his service and the weight of his sin is pressing on his heart. In answer to the anxious wife's inquiry he exclaims:

"Do you know the sort of man you have been living with all these years? Do you see through me? Do you know me?—No; do n't speak: I see your answer already—your own love blinds you! Ha! I am a *good man*! I do n't drink, I do n't swear, I am respectable, I do n't blas-

pheme like Bletchley! Oh, yes, and I am a *scholar*: I can cackle in Greek; I can wrangle about God's name; I know Latin and Hebrew and all the cursed little pedantries of my trade! But do you know what I am? Do you know what your husband is in the sight of God? He is a *liar*!

"O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?"

The mental condition of the Vicar is well voiced in his exclamation uttered in tones that border on despair:

"I am in darkness. I do n't know what to do. God has left me stranded."

Then the Vicar tells Martha that his treatment of his brother Robert is what is weighing upon his heart, and that he feels Mary should know who her father is and should see him. The wife is aroused in opposition, and finally, in an atmosphere tense and strained, she tells her husband that she has sent an invitation to her brother James, the Bishop of Lancashire, to meet his brother Joshua at their home that morning. The Vicar's expression indicates his disgust, and in reply to his wife's declaration that her brother is as much a bishop as his, he exclaims:

"He! That gaitered snob!"

AUNTIE*—William, how dare you?

VICAR—Yes, he's a bishop! A bishop of stocks and shares! A bishop of the counting-house! A bishop of Mammon!

AUNTIE—William!

VICAR—The devil's own bishop!

AUNTIE—At least, he is n't a *working-man*!

VICAR (as though stung)—Ah! . . .

[They stand below the table, one on either side, tense with passion. They remain so.]

At this juncture Manson and Rogers bring in the breakfast, consisting of hot sausages, bread and tea. The Vicar and his wife are scarcely seated, however, when the front doorbell is violently rung.

*Throughout the play Martha, the Vicar's wife, is called Auntie.

Evidently one of the bishops has arrived, and Manson ventures to state that it does not sound like the Bishop of Benares. He goes to the door and returns, saying that the person is strangely attired; that he noticed his legs. At this exclamation, the wife insists that it must be her brother James, but that she cannot see him in her present clothing; so she hastily leaves, after begging the Vicar to treat her brother civilly. The latter braces himself to meet the odious visitor, but instead his brother Robert is ushered in. The latter is furious at receiving the telegram telling him he is not to come. The brothers have some bitter words, and William leaves the room.

It was raining very hard when Robert came, and Manson induces him to take off his wet coat and slip on the Vicar's cassock which is lying on the settee, after which Robert seats himself and begins to devour the breakfast. Quite a conversation ensues between Manson and Robert, during which the latter gives the story of his life and how, through the study of Socialism, he came to see things differently. Furthermore, he no longer drinks to excess. Manson surprises him by saying that he also is a Socialist.

Their conversation is disturbed by another loud ringing at the front doorbell. This time it is the Bishop of Lancashire who is admitted by Rogers. The Bishop is very near-sighted and is also very deaf, being compelled to use an ear-trumpet. On being admitted "the Most Reverend Father in God" stands blinking for recognition. Pained at the non-fulfilment of this worthy expectation, he moves—a little blindly—toward the table. Here he encounters the oppugnant back of the voracious Robert, who grows quite annoyed. Indeed, he as good as says so.

The Bishop mistakes Robert for William, because of the latter's cassock, and, mistaking some remarks and gestures of Robert for an invitation to partake of the breakfast, he sits down and begins eating. Finally, on looking up, he beholds for the first time Manson in his Oriental garb. Naturally enough, he immediately infers

that this is the illustrious Bishop of Benares.

BISHOP—My—my brother from Benares, I presume?

ROBERT—What, my pal, 'is brother! Oh, Je'oshaphat!

BISHOP—Ten thousand pardons! Really, my eyesight is deplorable! Delighted to meet you! . . . I was just observing to our charming host that—er . . . Humph. . . Bless me! Now what was I . . .

MANSON—Something about your sacred obligations, I believe.

BISHOP—Precisely, precisely! Er—shall we sit?

[They do so. The Bishop looks to Manson to begin. Manson, failing him, the spirit begins to work within himself.]

"Well—er—speaking of that, of course, my dearly-beloved brother, I feel very seriously on the matter, *very* seriously—as I am sure you do. The restoration of a church is a tremendous, an overwhelming responsibility. To begin with, it—it costs quite a lot. Does n't it?"

MANSON—It does: quite a lot.

BISHOP—Hm, yes—yes! . . . You mentioned *sacred obligations* just now, and I think that on the whole I am inclined to agree with you. It is an admirable way of putting it. We must awaken people to a sense of their *sacred obligations*. This is a work in which everybody can do something: the rich man can give of the abundance with which it has pleased Providence specially to favor him; the poor man with his slender savings need have no fear for the poverty of his gift—let him give all: it will be accepted. Those of us who, like yourself, my dear brother—and I say it in all modesty, perhaps *myself*—are in possession of the endowments of learning, of influence, of authority—we can lend our *names* to the good work. As you say so very beautifully, *sacred obligations*.

By the way, I do n't think I quite caught your views as to the probable cost. Eh—what do you think?

MANSON—I think that should depend

upon the obligations; and then, of course, the sacredness might count for something.

BISHOP—Yes, yes, we've discussed all that. But bringing it down to a *practical* basis: how much could we manage with?

MANSON—What do you say to—everything you have?

BISHOP—My dear sir, I'm not talking about myself!

MANSON—Well—everything the others have?

BISHOP—My dear sir, they're not fools! Do discuss the matter like a man of the world!

MANSON—*God's not watching: let's give as little, and grab as much as we can!*

BISHOP—Ssh! My dear brother! Remember who's present! (He glances toward Robert.) However . . . (coughs) we will return to this later. I begin to understand you.

ROBERT—Yus; you *think* you do!

It will be observed that it is in answer to the Bishop of Lancashire's request that his companion should discuss the matter "like a man of the world," that the reply comes quick and decisive: "*God's not watching: let's give as little, and grab as much as we can!*" Here the creed of modern commercial Christendom is summed up in the fewest possible words, and the radiant smile on the Bishop of Lancashire's face shows how his own secret thoughts and desires have been voiced. Later the Bishop recurs to this thought:

BISHOP—Now, you said, *Let's give as little, and grab as much as we can.* Of course, that is a playful way of putting it; but between ourselves, it expresses my sentiments exactly.

MANSON—I knew that when I said it.

BISHOP (delighted)—My dear brother, your comprehension makes my heart warm. I trust our relations may always remain as warm.

After this illuminating conversation, the Bishop of Lancashire asks how his brother from the Far East succeeded so phenomenally. He is told that it was by *sacrifice*.

BISHOP—Of course, of course; but *practically*. They say it's an enormous concern!

MANSON—So it is.

BISHOP—Well, what would such an establishment as that represent? In round numbers, now?

MANSON (calmly)—Numberless millions.

BISHOP—Numberless mil—! (He drops his fork.) My dear sir, absurd! . . . Why, the place must be a palace—fit for a king!

MANSON—It is!

BISHOP—Do you mean to tell me that one man alone, on his own naked credit, could obtain numberless millions for such an object as that? How could you possibly get them together?

MANSON—They came freely from every quarter of the world.

BISHOP—On the security of your own name alone?

MANSON—No other, I assure you.

BISHOP—For Heaven's sake, tell me all about it! What sort of a place is it?

MANSON (seriously)—Are you quite sure you can hear?

BISHOP—Perhaps your voice is *not* quite so clear as it was. However. . . . [He wipes the inside of the ear-trumpet and fixes it afresh.] Now! Tell me about your church.

[During the following speech the Bishop is occupied with his own thoughts; after the first few words he makes no attempt at listening; indeed, the trumpet goes down to the table again in no time. On the other hand, Robert, at first apathetic, gradually awakens to the keenest interest in what Manson says.

MANSON (very simply)—I am afraid you may not consider it an altogether substantial concern. It has to be seen in a certain way, under certain conditions. Some people never *see* it at all. You must understand, this is no dead pile of stones and unmeaning timber. *It is a living thing.*

BISHOP (in a hoarse whisper, self-engrossed)—Numberless millions!

MANSON—When you enter it you hear a sound—a sound as of some mighty poem chanted. Listen long enough, and you will learn that it is made up of the beating of human hearts, of the nameless music of men's souls—that is, if you have ears. If you have eyes, you will presently see the church itself—a looming mystery of many shapes and shadows, leaping sheer from floor to dome. The work of no ordinary builder!

BISHOP (trumpet down)—On the security of one man's name!

MANSON—The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes; the sweet human flesh of men and women is moulded about its bulwarks, strong, impregnable; the faces of little children laugh out from every corner-stone; the terrible spans and arches of it are the joined hands of comrades; and up in the heights and spaces there are inscribed the numberless musings of all the dreamers of the world. It is yet building—building and built upon. Sometimes the work goes forward in deep darkness; sometimes in blinding light; now beneath the burden of unutterable anguish; now to the tune of a great laughter and heroic shoutings like the cry of thunder. [Softer.] Sometimes, in the silence of the night-time, one may hear the tiny hammerings of the comrades at work up in the dome—the comrades that have climbed ahead.

[There is a short silence, broken only by the champing jaws of the Bishop, who has resumed his sausages. Robert speaks first.]

ROBERT (slowly)—I think I begin to understand you, comride: especially that bit abaht . . . (his eyes stray upwards) . . . the 'ammerin's an' the—the harches—an' . . . Humph! I'm only an 'og! . . .

Robert finally departs, and the Bishop learns, to his amazement and disgust, that he has eaten with a common laboring man. On the entrance of the Vicar and his wife another shock awaits him, when the wife explains that the man he has been addressing as the Bishop of Benares

is their new butler. The good Bishop next hastens to silence Manson with the offer of a bribe. He then labors to gain the coöperation of the Vicar and his wife in a plan he wishes to present to the Bishop of Benares when he comes, by which the restoration of the church would be made but a part of a great money-getting scheme through which the worldly-minded and avaricious Bishop would gain great pecuniary advantage. When the Bishop retires to confer with Manson, the Vicar expresses to his wife his abhorrence of her brother, at length exclaiming:

"What possible kinship can there be between us? As for his filthy money—how did he scrape it together? How did he come by it? . . ."

AUNTIE—Yes, William, that's true, but the opportunity of turning it to God's service . . .

VICAR—Do you think any blessing is going to fall upon a church whose every stone is reeking with the bloody sweat and anguish of the human creatures whom the wealth of men like that has driven to despair? Shall we base God's altar in the bones of harlots, plaster it up with the slime of sweating-dens and slums, and give it over for a gaming-table to the dice of gamblers and of thieves?

At length the Vicar and Martha go into the adjoining room to confer with the Bishop, when Manson and Mary have the stage during a beautiful and highly suggestive scene. During this conversation the fact is disclosed that Manson's words to Mary earlier, when he asked her to help him weave the fairy-tale and desired her to wish earnestly for what she most wanted and needed, have sunk deeply into her heart. It at length suddenly breaks upon her that what she most desires and needs is the love of a father—the father she has never known.

Finally Manson is summoned from the room to give directions in regard to the dinner, when Mary encounters Robert, who has returned, and a striking and strong scene ensues in which the father and daughter both express the deep wish

of their hearts. Her yearning for her father is touchingly expressed, and her conviction that he is good and brave and beautiful makes a profound impression on the rapidly-changing heart of Robert, who has already seen a new and wonderful light through the words and treatment of Manson. Robert, while dwelling on his great love for his "little kid," leaves the house without disclosing his identity.

The curtain rises on the fourth act as the Vicar and his wife are entering from the adjoining room, where they have been in conference with the Bishop. The wife endeavors to induce her husband to fall in with her brother's plans, and again the two tread on dangerous ground. Finally the husband resents Martha's overlordship, her assumption that she is the proper person to dictate his action and guide his soul, and points out to her that it is not the cause of the church with which she is most concerned.

AUNTIE—I am interested in *your* work, William. Do you take me for an atheist?

VICAR—No; far worse—for an idolater!

AUNTIE—William! . . .

VICAR—What else but idolatry is this precious husband-worship you have set up in your heart—you and all the women of your kind? You barter away your own souls in the service of it; you build up your idols in the fashion of your own respectable desires; you struggle silently amongst yourselves, one against another, to push your own god foremost in the mir-
er-able little pantheon of prigs and hypocrites you have created!

AUNTIE (roused)—It is for your own good we do it!

VICAR—Our own good! What have you made of me? You have plucked me down from whatever native godhead I had by gift of heaven, and hewed and hacked me into the semblance of your own idolatrous imagination! By God, it shall go on no longer! If you have made me less than a man, at least I will prove myself to be a priest!

AUNTIE—Do you call it a priest's work to . . .

VICAR—It is *my* work to deliver you and me from the bondage of lies! Can't you see, woman, that God and Mammon are about us, fighting for our souls?

Again the conversation reverts to Robert, and finally Manson is summoned, but instead of taking the position of a servant before the mistress of the house, he seems rather the judge. His commanding tone is quickly resented by the wife, but his commanding mien, bearing and authoritative utterance exercise a strange influence over the Vicar, and in a less degree over Martha. At length Manson tells her she ought to welcome the despised Robert into her home as an honored guest—ay, to receive him royally as a brother.

AUNTIE (desperately)—I wo n't do it! I can't! I can't!

MANSON—With my assistance, you can!

AUNTIE—I dare n't! I dare n't!

VICAR—I dare! I will!

AUNTIE—In God's name, how is it possible?

MANSON—*Make me the lord and master of this house for one little hour!*

VICAR—By Heaven, yes!

MANSON—And you? You? . . .

[She falters a few moments; then, utterly broken down, she whispers, feebly.]

AUNTIE—Yes.

MANSON—Then *first to cleanse it of its abominations!*

As Manson utters the last words, the Bishop emerges from the inner room. What the Servant in the House, who is now lord of the manor for one hour, means by "abominations" is quickly seen, when he steps up to the Bishop and in a positive tone exclaims:

"I bear you a message from the master of this house. Leave it!"

The Bishop is furious and departs muttering threats and curses.

The audience has long since divined that Manson is in fact Joshua, the famous Bishop of Benares, serving as the servant in the house for the redemption of its master and mistress. And very striking and suggestive is the treatment he accords

the rough and oftentimes repulsive Robert, who is the victim of others' wrongdoing and of unjust environment, rather than the responsible principal for his unhappy state, and that shown the Bishop of Lancashire, who represents the worldly churchman of to-day, who closes his eyes to moral crimes in high places and to lawlessness that has resulted in the acquisition of gold, provided the criminals will yield a moiety of their accursed lucre to the church, the missionary societies and the colleges, sanctimoniously crying that the church can take the tainted gold and cleanse it, becoming in fact *particeps criminis*, or at least accessories after the crime, for the glory of God and the extension of conventional religion.

And quite as striking is the difference seen in the treatment of the Mary and the Martha of this wonderful allegory. Manson is instantly drawn to Mary, the child of pure heart and spiritual insight, and she quickly discerns who in reality he is. She enters as enthusiastically into his plans for bringing order out of chaos by establishing spiritual supremacy or harmony where egoism and pride of life are making misery and unhappiness, as the Martha, with soul centered on externalism and admiration of the physical being of her husband, resents and long fights



CHARLES RANN KENNEDY,
Author of "The Servant in the House."

against the compelling influence of the spiritually-illuminated Oriental.

Naturally and inevitably, the mind reverts to Palestine two thousand years ago, while before the mental vision rise vivid scenes occurring in the life of the Great Nazarene. We see the praying Publican and Pharisee, of whom that other Joshua or Jesus spake; we hear the terrible denunciation hurled against the worldly-minded conventional religious Pharisees who made long prayers and compassed land and sea for proselytes, while they were devouring widows' homes; we call to mind that strikingly dramatic episode

"The Servant in the House" as a Drama and as an Allegory. 67

in the home of the rich Pharisee, Simon, when the sinning woman entered, and, kneeling at the feet of the Great Nazarene, bathed them with her tears and wiped them with her hair, anointing them with precious ointment; and we also call to mind the visit of Jesus in Bethany to the vine-embowered little home of Mary and Martha. And as these and other incidents in the life of the Son of Man move before the mental retina, we see that we have been witnessing again scenes similar to those enacted two thousand years ago, but the setting is modern. We, and not the Jews of old, are the actors and spectators in the drama of life and death being enacted.

The fifth and final act is in many respects the strongest and most impressive of the drama. Manson's influence, reinforced by that of the helpful Mary, has been nowhere more marked than on Robert, who has awakened to a new life, or rather the divine or real man in him has become quickened. He no longer wishes to make trouble or increase the inharmony in the home. His work is the cleansing of drains, and here he clearly sees is labor imperatively demanded. So he leaves the house after a conversation with Mary and Manson, and sets himself to examine the drains. He soon finds that under the Vicar's study and library is a noisome accumulation of poisonous filth. But this is not all. He finds that the drain-pipe, here so full of muck, leads toward the great church. He follows it, only to find the chief source of corruption under the very altar of the stately temple.

The curtain rises on the fifth act revealing the same room in which all the preceding acts have taken place; and it is well to remember that not only is the play enacted in the one room, but each act commences where its predecessors left off, and the whole series of events dramatically represented are supposed to take place in the course of a single morning.

We are now nearing the hour when the Bishop of Benares is expected to enter. The bell rings and Manson goes out.

Then it is seen that both the Vicar and his wife are truly awakened. They have set their faces toward the morning; they have chosen the better part, and now their one thought is the repairing of the great wrong before the arrival of the holy man from the East. But as it only lacks ten minutes of the time when he is expected, they fear they cannot accomplish the necessary work and be in soul and spirit prepared to receive him. Very simple and pleasing is the dialogue in which the awakening of Martha and her husband is revealed; and quite as charming is the way Mary confesses that she has been hasty in misjudging her uncle and aunt, when they had confessed to her that they had been un-Christlike to her father.

MARY—Let me speak, uncle. I have been thinking, out there in the garden—thinking very hard: I've been trying to put things together again and make them straight; but it's still very difficult. Only there's one thing—I'm sorry I was unkind just now: I did n't mean it: you



EDITH WYNNE MATTHISON.



Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT I.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Edith Wynne Matthison, Walter Hampden and Charles Dalton.

are everything I have—everything I have ever had; and as for what uncle said—about himself, I mean—I can't believe it. No, I'm sure there's a mistake somewhere; and mistakes can always be put right, if we only help one another and mean it. Shall we try, uncle? Shall we, auntie?

AUNTIE—If it's not too late! . . .

MARY—It can't be too late, auntie dear, if we all wish very hard. I was a coward to give up wishing. That was *my* sin, too!

AUNTIE—God knows, I wish, Mary!

. . .

VICAR—And I! . . .

MARY—And, indeed, I do! . . .

Now I've been thinking: I've been trying to look the worst in the face. Supposing my father *is* the wicked man you say—the very, very wickedest man that

ever lived, do n't you think if we tried to love him very much it might make a difference?

VICAR—What made you think of that, Mary? . . .

MARY (simply)—It's what you taught me, uncle, in your sermons.

VICAR—I taught you? . . .

MARY—Yes; and besides, there's another reason. . . . I've been thinking of the poor man I met this morning.

AUNTIE—Yes . . .

VICAR—What of him? . . .

MARY—*He* said he was a wicked man, and at first he looked so dreadfully wicked, I believed him; but when I began to look at him closely, and heard him talk about his little girl, everything seemed different! I could no more believe him, than I can believe you, uncle, when you say such awful things about yourself! I



Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT I.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Walter Hampden and Galwey Herbert.

believe he was a much better man than he ever dreamed! And so I think we might find my father just the same, if he was properly loved and looked after!

The Vicar is on the verge of telling Mary that the poor man is her father, when Rogers enters, and later Robert, the drain-man, who is now covered with muck. He has just come from the drains to report to the Vicar what he has found. The poor man enters a very different home from that he left a short time before. Now the winter is past, the summer of love has come, and it is to a sympathetic audience, fired with a fine enthusiasm, that he vividly portrays the terrible conditions which he found under the study, and how he pushed his way to the source of the trouble.

MARY—Oh, do tell us! . . .

AUNTIE—Yes, do! . . .

VICAR—Yes, yes! . . .

[A splendid rapture infects them all.]

ROBERT—I followed up that drain—I was n't goin' to stick till kingdom come inside your little mouse-'ole out there: no, I said, *Where's this leadin' to?* What's the 'ell-an'-glory use o' flushin' out this blarsted bit of a sink, with devil-knows-w'at stinkin' cesspool at the end of it! That's wot I said, Ma'am! . . .

AUNTIE—Very rightly! I see! I see! . . .

ROBERT—So up I go through the sludge, puffin' an' blowin' like a bally ole cart-orse—strooth, it seemed miles! Talk abaht bee-utiful, ma'am, it 'ud 'a' done your 'eart good, it would, really! *Rats—*'undreds on 'em, ma'am: I'm bitten clean through in places! 'Owesome, I pushed my way through, some'ow, 'oldin'



Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT II.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Walter Hampden, Tyrone Power and Arthur Lewis.

my nose and fightin' for my breath, till at last I got to the end—and then I soon saw wot was the matter! . . .

It's under the church—that's where it is! I know it's under the church, cos I 'eard "The Church's One Foundation" on the orgin, rumblin' up over my 'ead! Well, I . . .

ALL—Yes—yes . . .

ROBERT—You'd never guess wot I saw there, not if you was to try from now till glory-'allelouyer! . . . The biggest back-ander I ever did 'av', s'welp me! . . .

[They hang on his words expectantly.]
It ain't no drain at all!

ALL (breathlessly)—Why, what is it, then? . . .

ROBERT—It's a grive!

ALL—A grave! . . .

ROBERT—Yus, one o' them whoppin' great beer-vaults as you shove big bugses'

corpses inter! What d'yer think o' that now?

MARY—Oh! . . .

AUNTIE—Horrible! . . .

VICAR—I seem to remember some tradition . . .

ROBERT—You'd 'a' said so if you'd seen wot I seen! Talk abaht corfins an' shrouds an' bones an' dead men gone to rot, they was n't in it, wot I saw dahn there! . . . [Rapturously.] Why—why, it may cost a man 'is life to deal with that little job!

VICAR—My God! The thing's impossible!

ROBERT—Impossible! Means a bit of work, that's all!

VICAR—Why, no one would ever dare . . .

ROBERT—Dare! Why, wot d' you think I come 'ere for? . . .



ACT II.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Walter Hampden, Arthur Lewis and Tyrone Power.

VICAR—*You! . . .*

ROBERT—I mean as I've found *my* place, or I do n't know a good thing when I see it!

AUNTIE—What! To go into that dreadful vault, and . . .

ROBERT—Why not? Ain't it my job?

AUNTIE—But you said—perhaps—*death!* . . .

ROBERT—It's worth it, it's a lovely bit of work!

VICAR—No, ten thousand times, no! The sacrifice is too much!

ROBERT—You call that sacrifice?—It's fun: not 'arf!

VICAR—I had rather see the church itself . . .

ROBERT—What; you call yourself a clergyman!

VICAR—I call myself nothing! I *am* nothing—less than nothing in all this living world!

ROBERT—By God, but I call myself

summat—I'm the DRAIN-MAN, that's wot I am!

The Vicar finally remonstrates against his going, but Robert is resolute, declaring that the muck must be removed. The stench, the horror, the darkness and the dread danger cannot deter him, for he has caught the vision of the true living church as pictured by Manson earlier in the play.

ROBERT—What's it matter, if the comrides up above 'av' light an' joy an' a breath of 'olesome air to sing by? . . .

VICAR—Hour by hour—dying—alone. . . .

ROBERT—The comrides up in the spans an' arches, joinin' 'ands . . .

VICAR—Fainter and fainter, down below there, and at last—an endless silence! . . .

ROBERT—'Igh in the dome, the 'ammerin's of the comrides as 'av' climbed aloft!

When it is clear that Robert will risk his life in this necessary work for the com-



Photo, by Hallen, New York.

ACT IV.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Edith Wynne Matthison, Gwladys Wynne and Charles Dalton.

rades he does not even know, because it is his duty, the Vicar exclaims:

"Then, by God and all the powers of grace, you shall not go alone! Off with these lies and make-believes! Off with these prisoner's shackles! They cramp, they stifle me! Freedom! Freedom! This is no priest's work—it calls for a man! . . .

[He tears off his parson's coat and collar, casting them furiously aside. He rolls up his sleeves.]

"Now if you're ready, Comrade: you and I together!"

AUNTIE—God's might go with you, William! Accept him, Christ!

Robert now protests. He is willing to go, but he does not wish his brother to risk his life, but when he finds the Vicar is equally resolute, he says:

"Then let's 'av' summat to eat, an' let's get along. There's nuthin' more to say."

MARY (inspired)—Yes, there is!

ROBERT—What do you mean, miss?

MARY—I mean that I understand: that I know who you are.

ROBERT—Me? . . .

MARY (simply)—Yes, you are my father.

ROBERT—'Ow the everlastin' did you know that?

MARY (going up to him)—Because you are my wish come true: because you are brave, because you are very beautiful, because you are good!

ROBERT—My little kid! My little kid! [They embrace each other.]

VICAR—Robert! [Taking his left hand.]

AUNTIE—Brother! [Taking his other hand.]

[They form a kind of cross.]

During this thrilling moment Manson and Rogers have entered and laid the cloth for lunch. A large vase of flowers is placed in the center of the table and Manson, standing behind the beautiful bouquet, facing the audience, turns to the group on the stage, saying:

"The Bishop of Benares is here."

Perhaps the master allegorical truth of the play that is of vital importance for every one to take to heart who would efficiently aid in hastening the advent of the Kingdom on earth, is found in the lesson of drains. The Vicar prepares his sermons and labors to save souls in his beautiful library. Externally everything appears fair and inviting, but underneath is the eating death, subtly diffusing its poison. The Vicar is standing before the world as an exemplar of the Gospel of Christ and a lover of God, while he has turned his back upon his brother whom he hath seen. Hence, spiritually speaking, he is in midnight darkness, and no spiritual light can or does emanate from him, while the consciousness of his wrong-doing, or the throttling of the higher or spiritual impulses makes discord instead of harmony in his mental realm.

This truth is complemented by another quite as impressive. Under the rotting church which living men and women will no longer support, are found the corpses

of the "big bugs," the rich and the powerful ones of earth who have lived the Pharisee-life and devoured the sustenance of the workers, who have fattened on the wealth wrung from the labor of little children or gained by conspiring against the workers, by the power of monopoly, by gambling and by indirection; and who, because they were ready to pass the plate on the Lord's Day, to take pews in the church, to give a little of their tainted and ill-gotten gold to the churches, the missionary societies and the religious colleges, have been welcomed by the church and given a resting-place for their bodies under the altar of God.

Here, it will be seen, the author has placed his finger squarely on the mortal wounds sustained by the church to-day—the acceptance of the righteousness of the Scribes and the Pharisees, and the rejection of the sublime ethics or spiritual truths of the Great Nazarene. In the refusal of the ministry to recognize as brothers and treat as such the struggling poor who are the victims of the privileged and powerful ones, and the rejection of the Christianity of Christ by the conventional religion of the world, we have the master-secret of Christianity's weakness.

This terrible indictment, so vividly presented, constitutes the greatest and most needed sermon of the day.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

OUR LITERARY SECTION.

Paris the Beautiful. By Lilian Whiting. With colored frontispiece and 26 full-page halftones. Cloth, gilt top. Pp. 400. Price, \$2.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

FEW POPULAR American writers are so well equipped to present a charming and informing picture of the beautiful side of Paris life as Miss Lilian Whiting. Her broad culture and extensive travel have given her intimate knowledge of things worth the while in the world of art, science, literature and philosophy and have enabled her to compare the great achievements of master minds to be found in various Old-World cities with those of Paris. She is above all an idealist with a genuine passion for the beautiful in life and art. Hence she is preëminently well fitted to satisfactorily perform the work she essays in this volume.

So long as there is to be found the Jekyll and Hyde in man and woman, cities and nations will present two distinct aspects: a side fair, and one the reverse. The sociologist and reformer cannot blind himself to the darker aspects of life. The philosophical historian must be judicial and give both sides; while the specialist is free to portray the light or the shadow, the fair or the foul. In *Paris the Beautiful* Miss Whiting has given us a notable pen-picture of the fairer side of the French metropolis, and in so doing she has performed a very important work even from the viewpoint of common justice to the French; for ever since the great Revolution, when France has been under Liberal or republican rule, she has been the target for the upholders of monarchal or despotic governments and the champions of reactionary thought. And since she made her great choice for justice in the Dreyfus case, casting off the deadening spell which clericalism and militarism had cast upon her, she has become again the victim of the calumny and slander of reactionaries. She has been represented as decadent, as honeycombed with vice and devoid of faith and idealism. Spain in her comatose state receives no criticism from the clerical or political reactionaries, but France, in spite of her splendid scientific, artistic, political, philosophical and literary

achievements, is represented as stricken by death. It is therefore refreshing to read the following record of Miss Whiting, written in Paris after a sojourn in that city for the purpose of seeing what the great throbbing heart of France represents and has to offer to the world:

"Paris is neither medieval nor modern; it refuses to be assigned to any definite chronology; it is unique, and there is a suggestion of a vast realm of life that is aglow with wonderful possibilities. Infinite trains of thought are inspired: one realizes that he is in the center of art, of scientific activity and discovery, and that he treads on the very threshold of surprises that may, any morning, quite transform the course of progress. There is a curious sense of satisfaction with one's environment, as being that which contains and offers everything, and stimulates the purposes of life in myriad directions.

"The French capital is a paradise of beauty; it is also a paradise of opportunity. . . . Art, in all its varied forms of expression—in painting, sculpture, music, the drama, lyric art, architecture—pervade the entire atmosphere. Society, in the brilliancy of ceremonial life, of fashion, or that of the savant, the scholar, the thinker, is here. Invention and research find in Paris their scientific home.

"The generous hospitality of the French government to the student is unprecedented and unrivaled in the entire world. The splendid galleries of the Musées du Louvre, open daily (Mondays excepted) throughout the year, are free to each and all; the galleries of the Musée du Luxembourg are also free; the splendid course of lectures given at the Sorbonne, the Institute, the Collège de France and many other institutions, there being often as many as thirty separate courses of lectures given at the same time, are open to all who wish to enjoy them. The Bibliothèque Nationale, with its three million volumes, is open daily, except on holidays, free to those who seek its magnificent resources and its rare treasures of medals and antiques, manuscripts, maps and engravings. The opera, the Théâtre Français, the great concerts and the dramatic productions at all the theaters are available to the public at moderate prices. To live in Paris is to find that the most ideal and inesti-

mable privileges of life are offered freely to all, without money and without price.

"The popular idea that Paris is the synonym of frivolity, not to say of things far worse than frivolity, is utterly remote from the truth. The French do not, indeed, take their pleasures sadly, but joyously; sadness and seriousness, however, are by no means equivalent. That the *joie de vivre* is in the very air of Paris does not argue that Parisian life is lacking in significance. On the contrary, every phase of interest is represented—the scholarly, the artistic, the mystic, as well as the most brilliant social life that the world has known.

The complex, many-faceted French life is the wonder of contemporary civilization.

"If one shall seek a key-note to Paris, he may find it in the inscription over the portals of the Panthéon, '*Aux Grands Hommes la Patrie Reconnaissante*,' placed there in 1791, when the church of Sainte Geneviève was converted into a national memorial temple.

"No nation is so swift in its recognition of talent as is the French. No other nation offers such encouragement, or confers such honors upon her poets and prophets who in other countries are stoned, while France bestirs herself to offer them prizes and places and privileges. There is an institution called the '*Maison des Artistes et Littérateurs*,' which offers a gracious hospitality to the helpless



STATUE OF JEANNE D'ARC.

From "Paris the Beautiful," by Lilian Whiting. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

artist; there is the 'Thiers foundation,' which assures a basis of living for three years to young aspirants, with the conviction that if their talent is genuine, it will by that time enable them to rely upon it. The Académie Française includes several prizes for poetry among its rewards, and one of the latest of these is that bearing the name of François Coppée."



BUST OF PUVION DE CHAVANNES.

From "Paris the Beautiful," by Lilian Whiting. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

The present volume is rich in vivid pen-pictures of Paris past and present; fine descriptions of the streets and boulevards, the great galleries, museums, libraries and schools which are the glory of the city. Here, too, are delightful historical reminiscences, legends and anecdotes relating to various scenes and lives that are intimately connected with the story of the city and the greatness of the nation. There are also many pen-pictures of the great men of the age, and descriptions of immortal paintings, with something of their genesis,

together with delightful glimpses of many of the world-famous works of the modern masters.

Take, for example, the following description of one of Rodin's works and the futile effort of his enemies to undermine his reputation:

"Rodin's statue of 'St. John' recalls to the observer the story of its creation. In the Salon of 1877 Rodin had exhibited a statue called 'The Age of Bronze,' which, writes Rudolf Dircks, 'has become one of the familiar things of the world—except to the guardians of the gardens of the Luxembourg, as I have had occasion to notice. From its place in the Luxembourg Gardens it has been removed recently to the Musée du Luxembourg; and it may be mentioned that M. Rodin prefers the open air for the statue, as sculpture, particularly when it is cast in bronze, needs an equal diffusion of light which does not always exist in a gallery. On its exhibition at the Salon the figure was badly placed, and criticized adversely. But its position, and the commentary which within a few years has become

entirely reversed, were small matters compared with the grave charge that Rodin had made his figure with moulds cast direct from life. Rodin found this accusation sufficiently disconcerting. The offense was not unknown among sculptors; but it would be difficult to formulate a charge more likely to wound the feelings of a sculptor with a conscience; and it was particularly irrelevant in the case of Rodin. He had neither money nor friends to back him in the matter. So far as the world was concerned, he was simply an employé of Belleuse.

But, after all, the charge was groundless, and that was the main thing. Photographs and moulds taken from his model, a young Belgian soldier, which he procured from Brussels, were not sufficient to clear the air. Whereupon Rodin determined to convince his opponents by producing a figure, equally true to nature, but on a larger scale than life. This figure, St. John the Baptist, was exhibited at the Salon two years later.

"The group of artists chosen to investigate this charge against M. Rodin was composed of Falguière, Chaplin, Belleuse, Delaplanche and Paul Dubois. They united in vindicating him, and the purchase of the statue by the French government gave the final affirmation in favor of his artistic conscience."

Here is a sympathetic characterization of the different modern movements in art, with a special word for the latest school:

"The new note in French art is the portrayal of those secret analogies which pervade life and make up the texture of character and circumstance, and their result on human destiny. 'The soul contains within itself the event that shall presently befall it,' says Emerson; 'for the event is only the actualization of its thoughts.' The artist must also be the seer. He must be the diviner of mental states, the poet of moods, the reader of the unwritten, the discernor of the invisible. To Romanticism succeeded Impressionism; to Impressionism succeeds Intimism. All the merely dogmatic laws of academic rule are swept away, or, rather, are surrounded by and engulfed in the high tide of intimate insight



"THE TWO SORROWS."

From "Paris the Beautiful," by Lilian Whiting. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

and constructive sympathy. The artist is quickened by the magnetic suggestion of that which lies beyond the surface. He paints with thought as well as with the brush. A ruined castle on a hillside, silhouetted against the blue sky; the flush of sunset; a reflection in the water; a shadow on the path—all these subtle hints transpose themselves, in the artist's mind, into new creations and groupings. To what extent has this brilliant, subtle, mercurial and psychological art of the day affinity with the great achievements of the Renaissance, is a question that occurs to the mind. In the

Salons of recent years portraiture is seen as an instantaneous, nervous grasp of character and mood and temperament; an impetuosity that seizes on characteristics with a kind of electric verve, as in the portrait of a young man in hunting costume, exhibited in the Spring Salons of 1908, with two tall greyhounds beside him, seen standing on a hillside silhouetted against the far horizon, his right hand raised to hold down his hat, a great coat slung over his left arm, his garments all flying in the wind, and two or three lonely stone-pines on the hill. What an electric impression has M. Bernard Boutet de Monvel depicted in this scene, which is not only a portrait, but a picture, a biography, and the rendering of the very life of the subject. No artist has more wonderfully and impressively illustrated the new note in portraiture than has M. de Monvel in this work.

"Less elaborate but even more penetrating than Sargent's brilliant audacities, is the work of a group of the French, Italian and Spanish painters, typically represented by Boutet de Monvel, Besnard, Boldini and Degas, who, though his irony is always apparent, is a student of truth. In M. Albert Besnard is fairly initiated a new period in art. Intellectually, he is in touch with science, with ethics, with the new social ideal. The superficial critic proclaims his fantastic; but he has the poet's mind, the poet's intricate subtlety, and he who penetrates beneath the surface, and has the intuitive recognition of the hidden significances of M. Besnard's mental processes, finds him singularly luminous, and an artist whose work is a very lens through which one sees that which was before invisible."

Space prevents more extended quotations from this thoroughly delightful work, which is as rich in information as it is fascinating in its manner of presentation. *Paris the Beautiful* is a volume well worth the reading. It will make a beautiful and appropriate gift for a discerning friend.

Sun and Shadow in Spain. By Maud Howe. Illustrated with four color-plates and many half-tones from photographs. Cloth. Gilt top. Pp. 410. Price, \$3.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

SELDOM does the discriminating reader come across a volume of travel that is at once so informing and so beguiling as is Maud Howe Eliot's latest work, *Sun and Shadow in Spain*.

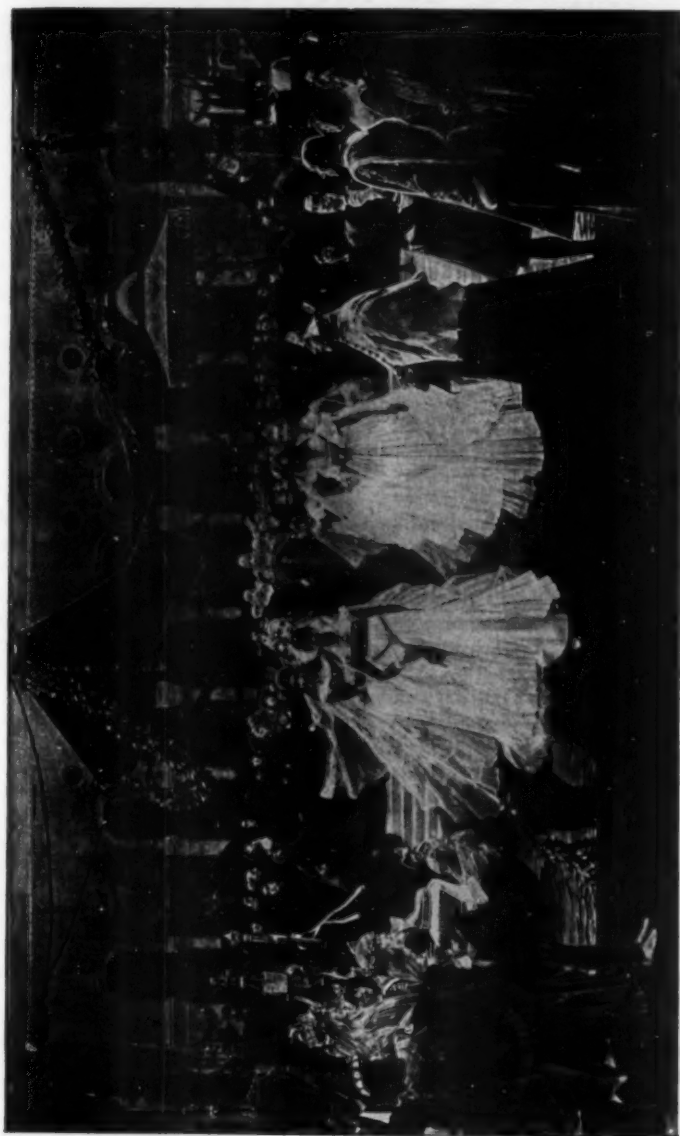
Those who have read this author's previous writings need not be informed that she possesses a graceful and easy style, which is rendered particularly pleasing by frequent humorous touches that are spontaneous in character. As a rule we soon weary of the professional humorist who essays to write of travels. He is constantly striving to say something funny, and frequently his strained attempts are painful to the reader, while, by distorting facts, they render his writings untrustworthy. No such criticism can be advanced against this author's work. Her humor is artless and natural. It flits over her pages as the sunshine breaks over the landscape on a cloud-flecked April day. She brings to her subject the knowledge of a well-informed writer and the sympathy that is so important if one is to throw a subtle spell of fascination over the story of journeyings to haunts rich in historic, romantic and artistic interest.

The author enjoyed peculiar advantages. Her husband was painting under the direction of Villegas, the famous court painter of Spain; while her acquaintances and the letters of introduction which she carried gave her access to many places that would be closed to the ordinary traveler. Spain is comparatively little visited by the tourist public. Hence the story of this author's wanderings with her artist husband will delight all lovers of well-written travels through lands out of the general pathway of the tourist.

The volume contains seventeen chapters. Most of them are descriptive of interesting places in Spain, although several pages are given to a description of the royal wedding and court ceremonials, and one of the most charming chapters is devoted to a trip to Tangiers. The opening pages, which appear under the apt title of "The Thorn in Spain's Side," contain a vivid description of Gibraltar and the experience of the author's party at the great fortress of Britain that guards the entrance to the Mediterranean. The description of Spanish cities and other points of historic interest will especially charm the general reader.

The work is magnificently gotten up. It contains four color-plates and over forty half-tones from photographs, many of them quite rare. It is a book that it is a pleasure to recommend.

The Shadow World. By Hamlin Garland. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price, \$1.35. New York: Harper & Brothers.



THE DOGARESSA. *Village*

From "Sun and Shadow in Spain," by Maud Howe. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

IT WILL NOT be necessary to assure persons familiar with the writings of Hamlin Garland that his latest work, *The Shadow World*, is a volume written in so engaging a style that he who commences it will not care to lay it down until he has read the last word. It is a semi-scientific work—the story of a number of sittings of psychical investigators undertaken in the most important instances by a group of well-known parties, several of whom were confirmed materialists whose mental attitude was marked by the complacency and arrogance of the modern evolutionary scientist of the Haeckel school, who looks down in something like pity or commiseration on those who see and feel that the physical universe is but the changing order that up to a certain point veils the world of the real; that the life of the sensuous is as Plato taught, the shadow life. It is the custom of these materialistic thinkers to seek to veil their ultra-dogmatic spirit behind a spirit of seeming humility. They will tell us that they are agnostics: they simply do not know. Yet it does not take long to discover that in their heart of hearts they think they do know; and starting out with the materialistic hypothesis as the only possible working theory, they mentally rule out of court the idealistic theories and seek to bend, distort or warp every fact and group of facts to fit their preconceived notions. They will at first tell us that certain phenomena are impossible; that they are too absurd to be introduced; that they run counter to all the laws of physics; that only the over-credulous could accept such things. Then, when they themselves have been brought face to face with the phenomena they have derided and sneered at and are forced to admit the verity of what they have seen, they shift their ground and seek to explain it away by what the Rev. M. J. Savage once remarked to us were explanations far more wonderful and impossible of credence than the phenomena. When, again, the explanations they have advanced are proved to be inadequate to explain certain other phenomena and tests they themselves have demanded as necessary to convince them, they are no more ready to accept the spiritualistic or idealistic hypothesis than they were at the beginning, when they denounced all the phenomena as impossible. They merely again shift their position, still pretending to humility in thought, still professing to be agnostics, while they vaunt their own superior intellectual acumen and seek by inference to belittle those who see farther and

are able to penetrate nearer the throbbing heart of the universe than is possible for those who are the apostles of the materialistic concepts. They stubbornly persist in their original hypothesis, even after they have been compelled to shift their position time and again. Their position is well expressed by Mr. Garland in one paragraph of the present work, when he says:

"I am a scientist in my sympathies. I believe in the methods of the chemist and the electrician. I prefer the experimenter to the theorist. I like the calm, clear, concise statements of the European savants, who approach the subject, not as bereaved persons, but as biologists. I am ready to go wherever science leads, and I should be very glad to know that our life here is but a link in the chain of existence. Others may have more convincing knowledge than I, but at this present moment the weight of evidence seems to me to be on the side of the theory that mediumship is, after all, a question of unexplored human biology."

The above sounds very plausible and to those unacquainted with the history of psychic research and the experience of the really great and truly scientific men who have been forced by their exhaustive personal investigations to conclude that the phenomena they have witnessed cannot be rationally explained on any hypothesis that excludes the theory of discarnate intelligences, it might be convincing. But the trouble here is with the false impression conveyed as to the leading basic statement made. Mr. Garland dismisses the great scientists—many of them men foremost in the world of critical and rigid scientific research, as men whose conclusions have been invalidated or at least weakened because they have been bereaved by the loss of dear ones. He might have added another alleged influence not unfrequently advanced by materialistic thinkers in order to weaken the weight of the testimony of men whose position in the scientific world is far higher than the critics', and that is personal desire for another life is a controlling factor. Yet no fact is, we think, more clearly established or better known to men who have exhaustively examined the experiences of distinguished men who have been forced to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis, than that neither of these considerations weighed in the scales. Certainly, they have weighed far less materially than the dogmatism of the materialistic thinker weighs on the other side. In very

many cases the great men have been pronounced enemies of the spiritualistic hypothesis, and they have entered upon their investigations determined to expose the pretensions advanced and to prove the fallacies of those who stood for the truth of psychical phenomena tending to demonstrate continuity of life beyond the grave. Men like Lombroso, the great Italian scientist and criminologist, for example, and Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the co-discoverer with Darwin of the evolutionary theory, are striking examples of what our own investigation convinces us is the rule and not the exception with men preëminent in the world of scientific thought who have been forced to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis.

Dr. Wallace in his great work, *Miracles and Modern Spiritualism*, clearly explains that no consideration of bereavement or any fear of death weighed with him. He had in the Malay Archipelago more than once faced what seemed certain death, and save a mild regret at leaving such a beautiful world, he experienced no other sentiment or feeling. He began his investigation precisely as he as a scientist investigated all other questions which he felt sufficiently important to receive his consideration. He was actuated by but one desire, and that was to arrive at the truth or falsity of the claims involved. And the result of these investigations, as in the case of numbers of other of the foremost nineteenth-century investigators, was the forced acceptance of the spiritualistic hypothesis.

Space prevents our giving the experience of Lombroso, Sir William Crookes and others, numbers of whom were biased by either a fear of death or a strong desire to meet friends who had died. We have in the past twenty-five years made a very careful study of the experiences that led to a change of views on the part of eminent thinkers who became converted to spiritualism and are convinced that in comparatively few cases could either of the facts above mentioned be by any reasonable inference set down as determining factors. Most of these men have been long trained in the modern scientific or critical methods. They are investigators who have been accustomed to sifting evidence and rigidly scrutinizing facts. They have been preëminently judicial in spirit and they have been influenced only by a passion for truth. This has been their overmastering impulse. To us it is clear that nothing is further from the truth than that the great scientists who have accepted the spiritual-

istic hypothesis have been influenced perceptibly by either considerations of bereavement or fear of death.

We have mentioned the fact that in this little group of investigators before whom occurred the most remarkable phenomena described by Mr. Garland in this work, were two or three persons of strong materialistic bias, because it makes the phenomena all the more remarkable, and, also, it cannot be claimed that the investigations were conducted loosely or by persons credulous or desirous of believing that the phenomena took place without resort to fraud.

We have characterized this book as semi-scientific. Let us explain our meaning. The characters introduced were in many instances actual personages, but for obvious reasons Mr. Garland has somewhat disguised them by descriptions that do not describe the persons. This is well explained in the following introductory note by the author:

"This book is a faithful record, so far as I can make it, of the most marvelous phenomena which have come under my observation during the last sixteen or seventeen years. I have used my notes (made immediately after the sittings) and also my reports to the American Psychical Society (of which I was at one time director) as the basis of my story. For literary purposes I have substituted fictitious names for real names, and imaginary characters for the actual individuals concerned; but I have not allowed these necessary expedients to interfere with the precise truth of the account.

"For example, *Miller*, an imaginary chemist, has been put in the place of a scientist much older than thirty-five, in whose library the inexplicable 'third sitting' took place. *Fowler*, also, is not intended to depict an individual. The man in whose shoes he stands is one of the most widely read and deeply experienced spiritists I have ever known, and I have tried to present through *Fowler* the argument which his prototype might have used. *Mrs. Quigg*, *Miss Brush*, *Howard*, the *Camerons*, and most of the others, are purely imaginary. The places in which sittings took place are not indicated, for the reason that I do not wish to involve any unwilling witnesses."

The language also is Mr. Garland's, and he has greatly extended the theoretical discussions introduced. Furthermore, he has written the book in the bright, breezy style that appeals to the general reader and which con-

tributes in no small way toward making the work as interesting as fiction. On the other hand, the astounding phenomena described are set down accurately and with that careful precision that modern scientific or critical methods require in a work that deals with unusual phenomena. This is the crowning excellence of *The Shadow World*.

We were of the group of investigators who witnessed much of what is described as taking place in the presence of Mrs. Smiley and can testify to the accuracy of the descriptions of what happened when we were present. We knew Mr. Garland was making extended notes, and this doubtless accounts for his clear and detailed narration of the extraordinary happenings in the presence of the psychic, who, it will be remembered, came to the society or group at her own expense, gave the sittings without a cent of pay, and urged us to make the test conditions as conclusive and satisfactory to us as we desired.

In this work we have the graphic description of a series of séances held in the homes of well-known citizens under far more conclusive test conditions than usually obtain in what are known as "dark" séances. The character of the persons constituting the group, the precautions taken to render it impossible for the psychic to rise from the chair or use her hands and arms, and the almost incredible phenomena that occurred, are here given, interspersed with discussions by prominent members of the group, in which the opinions of various eminent psychical investigators of the Old World and the New are given, the whole forming the most popular presentation of certain psychic phenomena, together with views and explanations that have been advanced by world-famous savants, that has yet been published.

The Shadow World is preëminently a popular treatise. It is not, of course, nearly so exhaustive or satisfactory a work as F. W. H. Myers' masterly work, *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, nor so valuable from a scientific point-of-view as many other works; but by the general reader who desires to know the conclusions of the world's great thinkers and who wishes to be acquainted with some of the strangest phenomena that have called forth hundreds and perhaps thousands of pages of discussion from the pens of master-minds of the age, this book will be read with interest, profit and pleasure.

Jesus of Nazareth: A Life. By S. C. Bradley. Cloth. Pp. 575. Price, \$2.00 net. Postage, 20 cents. Boston: Sherman, French & Company.

THIS volume is one of the most notable religious works of the season. It is a book that in spite of some serious defects in style, abounds in passages of strength and beauty. Its treatment of the life of Jesus will awaken varied emotions. It will neither please the rigid orthodox nor the liberal Unitarian. And yet it is safe to say that no person who reads its pages will fail to have a far clearer idea of the moulding mental forces that played around the mind of Jesus during his life prior to his public ministration, and of the environing influences of his life, than he had previous to its perusal. The wonderful panoramic picture of the Judea of Jesus' day and the influences from without that beat upon the brain of the nation, as here presented, will make perfectly clear many things that have puzzled many persons of a thoughtful turn of mind when reading of the teachings and acts of the Great Nazarene. Indeed, to our mind, here lies the special value of the work—an excellence that it is difficult to overestimate.

The author has made a profound study of all sources of information that would enable him to make a faithful setting for the life of Jesus from the time of his birth to his exit from human vision, and in this very important work it seems to us that he has succeeded beyond other authors who have essayed the same task. The side-lights that he throws on the scene are illuminating and must help greatly in humanizing and making real and conceivable the life of the great Prophet of Galilee, which during the dark ages of superstition was lifted beyond the range of credibility and became the object of blind adoration born of ignorance and superstition.

From the contents of the book, we should judge the author to be a modernist, a liberal orthodox Christian who frankly accepts the rich results of the higher criticism, which is already forcing the change of opinion of the more thoughtful people throughout the world where God-given reason is permitted to go hand in hand with reverent love for all that is holy and true.

In taking the position he does, the author naturally and inevitably discredits the Virgin Birth and the wonder-stories relating to the

birth of Christ, as he does the miraculous character of much in the New Testament which higher critics have discarded; but while doing so he adheres very closely to the New Testament narrative and embodies the words, the life and the teachings of Jesus as they pertain to the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The ethics of the Nazarene and all that is so supreme in its excellence in the life of the Wonderful One are beautifully brought out. He makes Jesus at once a very real character and an incomparable manifestation of the spirit of the All-Father whose name is Light and Truth and Love.

We think it is very unfortunate that the author has seen fit to phrase his work in present-day language. By adhering to the methods of speech of the time and place in which the great drama was enacted, much would have been gained in many respects. There are some other defects that are unfortunate in a work rich in worth and so profoundly suggestive.

In this book the life of Jesus is traced as in all probability it might have been lived in a land and under conditions that, as we have observed, are faithfully portrayed, based on the facts and data obtainable, up to the time when John the Baptist appears as a voice crying in the wilderness. After that, the New Testament narrative of course furnishes the bulk of the data employed. Here we meet not only Jesus' family and friends in Galilee, but Nicodemus and Gamaliel, Joseph of Arimathea and various other Scriptural characters, the lives of whom are well drawn. There are many chapters that are strikingly impressive, in which a lofty spiritual atmosphere pervades the simple, vivid, forcible and eloquent description of thrilling events that are instinct with human interest.

Mind, Religion and Health. By Rev. Robert MacDonald. Cloth. Pp. 368. Price, \$1.30 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS work, which appears as an appreciation of the Emanuel movement, is by the minister of the Washington Avenue Church of Brooklyn, New York, and is in our judgment one of the most deeply spiritual of all the books that have appeared in defense of the present-day effort on the part of certain orthodox clergymen to check the drift from the communions to that of Christian Science. Dr. MacDonald's attitude, though out of harmony

with the tenets of Christian Science, and in spite of the fact that he makes some sneering remarks occasionally in regard to it, is broader and more Christ-like in spirit than that of most of its critics who have appeared as apologists for the religious movement which frankly expresses a disbelief in the possibility of curing organic disease and which relies for its curative agent on mental suggestion rather than a faith that realizes the oneness of man with Deity.

At times Dr. MacDonald seems to have penetrated much further than those who are intimately identified with the Emanuel movement. He seems to have a deeper and more living faith and a clearer concept of man's relation to the Cosmic Mind and what that relation implies, than his orthodox brethren who are so fearful lest they be accused of even believing that organic disease can be cured by any other means than those endorsed by the regular medical profession. Thus, in his remarkable chapter entitled "The All-Power of the Universal Life," the most luminous discussion in the work, Dr. MacDonald says:

"How came our earth with all its teeming life, into existence? Our planet's history stands first an incandescent nebula spread over vast infinitudes of space. Then it condenses into a central sun surrounded with glowing planets in all stages of development, each evolved from that plastic primordial matter. Then follow untold millennia of slow geological formation, and the upspringing of all forms of vegetable and animal life, until through a never-ceasing, never-hurrying, majestic forward movement creation is fitted for man's residence. Then he appears, a spark of intelligence out of the infinite light, born with equipment that enables him to coöperate with God in carrying out the divine designs into all truthful and beautiful relations.

"Jesus postulated it all when he said, 'God is Spirit.' The writer of Genesis said the same when he exclaimed, 'In the beginning God.' That wonderful description of creation which follows the sublime declaration may not be scientific, but it is true nevertheless, simply, strongly, beautifully true, because it ascribes it all to God. It shows concisely that all visible things must have their origin in God, who is spirit, with intelligence, its supreme characteristic—an intelligence filled with thought images. Every one is an ideal pattern to be worked out in some created thing. No other occupation for spirit can be conceived than the production of thought-images, prior to its

manifestation in matter. These thought-images or ideas are what Plato of old referred to in his theory of ideas when he mentions them as infinite models which God contemplates and actively directs unto the creation of all finite order and beauty.

"All nature, then, is pervaded with ideas of the good, the beautiful, the true. And for animate nature it is an ideal of health, harmony, wholeness. The animal existence realizes this much more universally than the human. They enjoy as man does not. They are as one with inward and outward conditions. The universal life is admirably though not fully embodied there. Why should man, the highest expression of this life, be so out of sorts in every department of his nature? Well, because of both actual and ideal considerations. He is made in God's image. God's very being, an infinite actuality, is the idea that is to be worked out in him. Hear the sublime command, 'Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect.' What a contract has God upon His hands! What an infinite undertaking has man!

"Then when you realize the odds against which the struggle must be waged! What separates humanity from the life universal, with all its rich wholeness, is volition. Because in God's image, he is endowed with power of choice. That is the great divisional force which makes for realization of selfhood, but alas! also for independence. All the universe of God is his to share, all the resourcefulness of nature his to claim. He draws upon it all, each moment of his living, appropriates all natural blessings, and when he can, he puts a wall around it and calls it his. His selfishness, his incessant striving, make everything wrong. Bound to bend everything to himself, he encounters obstacles, blunders into difficulties, endures friction, experiences manifold ills—all this in the vain attempt to be independent, foolishly thinking that independence is strength. But he can't embody all the centrifugal forces. He must be played upon by the centripetal forces, too. He must, like the star, be held in his orbit. He must respect the all-comprehensive law of compensation.

"Let us hope that he, after seeing the fruitlessness and emptiness of such low striving, learns his lesson and fits into the plan of God. Now, the very equipment, that superb volitional power which served him ill in separating him from the all-power of God, shall serve him well in enabling him to make the necessary

connections with the infinite supply. He fits himself into the divine plan, he chooses life. God's creative power is a recreative power, too, ready and glad to enter into every little human receptive doorway. Man's whole being may be made whole and harmonious and at ease. The very will-power that seemed to be his curse will prove his blessing now. It puts him in touch with that boundless storehouse of life and good we call nature. He has within his grasp the key to all its treasures. His mental ability is that key. Whatsoever he asks for, in faith believing, he shall receive. For nature is not dead uniformity of law, but all alive with creative and curative life-power, the life-power of the infinite God."

The volume contains eleven chapters which were originally delivered as sermons, and several pages devoted to questions and answers.

Personally, as we have before pointed out, we believe that the position taken by the orthodox advocates of the Emanuel movement is an illogical and untenable position for those who hold to the cardinal dogmas maintained by the orthodox churches. The book, however, is full of luminous thoughts and suggestive truths.

The Economic Functions of Vice. By John McElroy. Boards. Pp. 60. Washington, D. C.: The National Tribune.

How VICES eliminate from society those the least fit to live and propagate their kind is the theme of this beautifully-written essay. As a historical illustration the author cites the "Bourbons whose stupidity and tyranny have passed into a proverb. In the last century their worse than worthless personalities filled nearly every throne in Europe. They seemed to breed like wolves in a famine-stricken land, and their fangs were at every people's throat. Fortunately they had vices. Wine and lechery did what human enemies could not and the pack of wolves rotted away like a flock of diseased sheep. . . . The only Bourbon still remaining on a throne is the King of Spain, and his teeth are on edge from the sour grapes of unchastity which his fathers and mothers ate. He is a sad physical weakling."

The foregoing gives some idea of the scope and trend of the essay. The author believes in religion, in law, in every legitimate means to save human life, but he adds: "For the hopeless defectives—the misfits in her tireless productiveness—religion, laws and society are alike weaker than women's tears. They

themselves sharpen the scythe of the Grim Reaper who brings the only remedy."

The book will awaken thought if not assent. It cannot fail to fascinate any one who looks into it.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The South Americans. By Albert Hale, A.B., M.D. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 360. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is the story of the South American republics, their characteristics, progress and tendencies. It is written with special reference to the commercial relations of these countries to the United States. The volume contains sixty-six maps and illustrations. It is well written and contains much of interest, but in the nature of the case its substance cannot be condensed into a brief review. A single extract is given to show the characteristics of the author's style and the trend of his thought.

"The South Americans are not naked savages, waiting to be clothed, grateful for the cast-off garments of a higher race; it is not the necessities of life which they lack, but some of the comforts, many of the luxuries, and, above all, the means to increase their productive capacity. This implies the better grade of manufactured goods, especially machinery, either for individual effort or for the larger industries by which manufacturing plants of their own can be set in motion. American sellers must have their own agents and independent exhibits; it will not do to select an English or a German house through which to offer American wares. Dignified, high-grade American establishments in Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo and Buenos Aires will do much to attract trade our way. This would encourage the location of an American bank, and would help solve the vexing question of an American line of steamers to South America. It is not necessary to subsidize steamers."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Psychical Research and the Resurrection. By James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 410. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

IT is hard to make much out of this volume of essays by Professor Hyslop, so profuse is the style, so uncertain the phenomena, and so inconclusive the reasoning. The general impression it leaves or one is to the effect that not much is really known as yet concerning the future or spirit state.

Even telepathy, we are told, is something

concerning which the most extravagant conceptions are entertained. It is a very rare phenomenon and has far greater limitations than the public imagines. It is merely a name for a group of facts, not for any explanatory process regarding them.

The volume concerns itself largely with an account of experiments made through mediums, many of them being attempts to identify the spirit of Dr. Richard Hodgson who was formerly associated with the author in psychical research. At times the identity seems established, at other times doubt arises. On the whole, in the present state of knowledge, it is easier to believe in the communication with disembodied spirits than it is to attempt the explanation of the phenomena in any other way, and yet some fact may be discovered any day that will destroy existing theories. So the most that can be said at present is that all is uncertain. In other words, there is a strong tendency to believe in so-called spiritualism, but as yet no absolute demonstration, nor is there absolute refutation. The best one can do is to keep the open mind and await developments.

The author well says: "The phenomena still accumulate, and increase the duties of science to investigate and interpret them. There are growing signs that intelligent men see that a new world of facts promises to open to human vision and interest, and only self-complacent dogmatists any longer ridicule the subject."

The author puts forward the spiritistic theory as a working hypothesis, but promises to abandon it if a better and simpler hypothesis can be obtained and supported by evidence.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The American as He Is. By Nicholas Murray Butler. Cloth. Pp. 100. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IN September, 1908, President Butler was asked to lecture before the University of Copenhagen; the three lectures there delivered have been published under the above title. It is not an easy task for one to describe himself or even his type, yet Dr. Butler did not decline because of the difficulties, but has striven to do his work with as much fairness as possible under the circumstances. No doubt he has described the American at his best, but in doing so he has been simply just, for anything is to be judged by its best product. We at home know there are many serious evils that do not appear in

these lectures, nor should they, for we who fight them would agree with the lecturer that they are not an essential part of American life.

The three lectures have for their subjects: "The American as a Political Type," "The American Apart from His Government," and "The American and the Intellectual Life." The first is especially good and we venture the assertion that there are few who will not learn some valuable things by reading it, and we are sure all will get inspiration from so doing. He says:

"The most impressive fact in American life is the substantial unity of view in regard to the fundamental questions of government and of conduct among a population so large, distributed over an area so wide, recruited from sources so many and so diverse, living under conditions so widely different."

Then he goes on to give the causes of this impressive fact, which are quite as impressive as the fact itself. Dr. Butler lays great stress upon the whereabouts of sovereignty in America. Such a brilliant political student as the Englishman, Walter Bagehot, said he never could find it. Perhaps some Americans do not know. Well, Mr. Butler tells us:

"The sovereignty is not to be found in the Constitution or under it, but behind it. It is vested in the people of the United States, who adopted the Constitution, acting through conventions of the people in the several states, and who may, if they choose, alter and amend it in ways which they have provided in the Constitution itself."

The remaining lectures are good and full of valuable information. Every American who wishes to get a good look at himself at his best should read this interesting volume.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

The American College: A Criticism. By Abraham Flexner. Cloth. Pp. 200. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

ABOUT two years ago a volume was published in France that within two months passed through its fifth edition, and we finally received it in a translation from the tenth French edition. The sensation it created in France was simply tremendous, and no wonder, for in a most thorough manner it laid bare the cause of what it assumed no one doubted—Anglo-Saxon superiority. The cause was the educational systems of England and America which trained young people to meet independently

the problems of life. Just at present many of our magazines are attacking our school system, especially that part of it known as secondary education, showing that we are not educating the children at all, and President Wilson of Princeton tells us we have not done it for two decades.

Now Mr. Flexner turns his attention to a pretty thorough criticism of the American college. His claim is that the college does not fit the boy for the life that he is soon to enter. This is exactly the criticism our French friend, M. Demolins, made of the educational system of France, and at the same time pointed out that the English and American systems did fit men for life. Strange as it may seem, we think that the American critic would agree with the French critic. For while Mr. Flexner says, "the important thing is to realize that the American college is pedagogically deficient," he also says it is on the right track and its aim is to vitalize education.

The criticism of the college's treatment of the secondary schools is especially good and the responsibility for their deplorable condition is properly placed upon the college. If the reading of this chapter will be the means of creating an interest in the secondary schools our author will be well paid for his work. Their importance is realized by the author. He says:

"The secondary school is the key to the college position. On the vigor and intelligence of the secondary school, the permanent solution of college problems now depends."

He has no words of commendation for the elective system, but seems to look upon it as a complete failure. "The elective system ignores the educational aspects of the inclusive social and human relationship," and it "impoverishes where it does not waste by aimless dispersion."

He has some good criticism on graduate work, and protests against graduates and undergraduates meeting in the same class.

The book is not a sensational attack on the American college. His position can be best understood in his own words:

"The American college is wisely committed to a broad and flexible scheme of higher education through which each individual may hope to procure the training best calculated to realize his maximum effectiveness. The scheme fails for lack of sufficient insight: in the first place, because the preparatory-school routine devised by the college suppresses just what the

college assumes it will develop; in the second place, because of the chaotic condition of the college curriculum; finally, because research has largely appropriated the resources of the college, substituting the methods and interests of highly specialized investigators for the larger objects of college teaching. The way out lies, as I see it, through the vigorous reassertion of the priority of the college as such."

We hope every one actively interested in American educational institutions will read this book.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

Our Own Columbia That is To Be. By Leonard Brown. Cloth. Pp. 608. Price, \$2.00. Des Moines, Iowa: E. T. Meredith.

MR. LEONARD BROWN, the author of this work, was a pioneer settler of the state of Iowa and one of the workers and thinkers who have done much to mould the thought of our young. He is a fundamental democrat, a man who believes in the great underlying principles of social justice that must be recognized and put into operation before we can realize anything like the ideal of free government. The master purpose or the keynote of the volume, and also the author's high concepts and ideal of life are admirably expressed in the following lines from the preface:

"The true purpose of life cannot be, for man, barely subsistence. This purpose—an instinctive motive—is behind the efforts of all to 'get rich'—the laying up for a 'wet day.' But why does the millionaire reach and reach for more and more? Has he not acquired enough for all his natural needs to the end of his life? He was happy in pursuit of this sufficiency and the acquisitive habit stays with him and he needlessly keeps on getting more and more till death, of what he has, and can have no use for. Is there no work for civilized man to pursue above what animal instinct and habit compel? Yes, man has a work given him to do superior to this. What is it? Briefly, it is to 'save the world.' Save it from what? (1) From ignorance; (2) from want, and (3) from wrongdoing. But mainly from ignorance; for want and wrong-doing normally flow from ignorance. Intelligence has almost completely forced out want by means of inventions that have so greatly increased the production of the essentials of life; and, according to the Master's teaching, who prayed, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'—and according to Plato, ignorance is the cause of wrong-doing. 'No man,' Plato says, 'can

know the right and do the wrong.' So it would appear that the great end of human effort should be to dispel ignorance, that is to say, to do missionary work.

"The childhood of humanity has gone by; but we have not yet put aside our outgrown garments. This condition gives rise to unrest and violence. Hence there are anarchists—they who would enforce as an universal law the motto placed by our Virginia ancestors upon the seal of the Old Dominion pictured and in letters: '*Sic semper tyrannis*'—'Death to all tyrants.' But ye old schoolmaster of ye olden time holds to the other extreme of belief—that is to say, non-resistance. And why so? Why overcome evil with good? Why, if smitten, turn the other cheek? It is the only way evil can be overcome. Like begets like. Love begets love. 'All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.'

"In but one way alone can tyrants be dethroned, and that way is by public opinion. We have not reached the end of tyranny, while every lawmaker is a tyrant, and while no government accepts the golden rule as the law of its action. What say the states of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and, too, the islands of the sea to-day? They say the same that Pagan Rome said—that every city says in its dealings with the 'submerged tenth': 'We prey upon the weak; might makes right'—that they say.

"While this is the voice of all organized governments and corporations the world over, at this moment, it is not that of the people; and by 'the people' is meant here the builders—the 'Carpenter' and the 'Carpenter's Son.' What a sublime thought! The personification of toil under the figure of Joseph and his son Jesus! When organized labor has crystalized her voice in government and law universally, which ere long will be done, then shall we behold the United States of the World and all things common the world over. The toiling many have always stood only on the defensive and have never inaugurated any wars. They simply 'strike,' that is to say, refuse longer to be slaves, refuse to go forward in bondage. And they are then, with the points of bayonets, the edge of the sword and the bullets of machine-guns, cannon and small arms in the hands of regulars, national guards, cossacks, etc., held enchained.

"But soon there will be but one class—toilers: hence no longer wars; and but one

religion, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man—all men and all women baptized with the baptism of the Holy Ghost. In the building of ships of war, and of fortifications, the making of arms and all other munitions of war, the momentum is of Paganism. Pagan force is otherwise nil. When all men speak with one voice, as soon they will speak, warships and swords and guns and cannon will all go to the junk-shop for old iron, to be made over into plowshares and other useful twentieth-century implements of production and into the framework of skyscrapers and into railroad iron, etc., etc."

The volume is divided into two parts, the first "Out of Bondage," the second "Into Freedom." Many readers will not agree with all the views advanced, yet no one can read the volume without having his moral sensibilities aroused and his intellect nourished by the thoughtful presentation of ideals relating to social and individual development and advancement. The author is dominated by moral enthusiasm; he has much of the spirit of the old prophets; and he brings to his discussion a mind deeply religious without being narrow or bigoted, and not wanting in logical consistency and intellectual discrimination.

The God that the author places above all gods is Beauty, and above all in the realm of beauty, moral beauty. Hence ethics and esthetics are the leaven of enlightenment. Therefore beautiful men, beautiful women and beautiful children morally will be flower and fruitage of the coming social order. He holds that the time is near when the consumption of tobacco will cease, when no one will take into his blood what will in the least be poison to it. While the author does not say with Tolstoi that animal food—the eating of flesh, should end with human beings, still it must end if beauty and harmony and love are the leaven of progress. And this leaven of progress is grounded in human nature. The love of the beautiful is the higher element in man's higher nature and dominates him, risen above the animal plane.

The author is not a revolutionist nor an iconoclast. He holds that what is, is the best we know; what is to be will be better.

The church, says our author, "is an heritage of good and cannot be given up. It is every patriot's duty to uphold the church, and every clergyman's duty to let down the medieval bars and bring in the sheep. . . . The church with all its grand edifices cannot be removed from

our European order of civilization and it ought not to be. It is in a transition stage just now and will shortly come to hold the place it ought to hold, and that it did once hold, that of headlight of the oncoming locomotive of progress. . . . What ails the Christianity of to-day? It is counterfeit. It is not the Christianity of the New Testament. The sects would have men 'go to heaven,' but the New Testament would bring heaven—the 'Kingdom of Heaven'—the Master's Kingdom, *down to men*, that 'God may dwell with them and be their God and they His people.' The Pentecostal church was that Kingdom—the realization of the Pythagorean ideal commonwealth in which those who were included in its membership would no longer live for themselves, but for the community of which they were members; and not only for the community of brethren, but for the common weal of humanity—the religion of mankind universally; for there is no man who will not accept and embrace it when rightly understood by him. . . . You may study every other religion—Buddhism, Confucianism, Zoroasterism . . . and you will find all of them terminating in self—selfishness—the individual helping himself. New-Testament Christianity is the reverse. It is the *individual helping others*. The power to do this perfectly well implies a perfect doer. Hence righteousness—hence perfection. 'Be ye perfect.' That is New-Testament Christianity and that alone—perfection of the individual in his character and his entire devotion to altruistic aims. This ideal belongs in so preëminent a degree to no other beside the Christian religion. But how may this end be reached? How build perfect character and implant in the universal mind the altruistic ideal? Only in one way, *viz.*, an ideal environment. Hence the Pentecostal society—the ideal commonwealth. That ideal commonwealth assures equality, the equality dear to the heart of St. Paul: 'That by an equality that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance may be a supply to your want, that there may be equality.'"

It would be well for the young of America if parents should make a personal effort to interest their children in the contents of this volume.

The Realm of Light. By Frank Hatfield. Cloth. Pp. 430. Boston: The Reed Publishing Company.

THIS is one of the best Utopian romances of recent decades. It deals in an interesting, human and spirited manner with the stirring adventures of three young men in quest of a wonderful land and people in central Africa—a quest which finally, after numerous thrilling experiences, is crowned with success. On reaching the Realm of Light the adventurous trio find themselves among a wonderful people and their experiences and adventures are quite as spirited and interesting after their arrival as they were before reaching the land which to them is an enchanted realm. The description of the new-found civilization which is many centuries in advance of that of the lower world from which they have emerged enables our new Utopian philosopher to picture a civilization in which the ethics of the Golden Rule is the vital governing law of the people. In this land life is sacred. Not even a butterfly is allowed to be slain. Here the fierce struggles and savagery born of greed, the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and ambition, are unknown. True, there is emulation, but it is the emulation akin to that of the great philosophers, scientists and singers of the ages—the passion to discover something that will add to the sum of truth which is the heritage of the ages, and the giving of something that will increase the happiness of the people.

There is a double romance, prettily told, and indeed the novel as a story is much superior to most of the social or Utopian romances of recent decades. The author's imagination is as rich and fertile as that of Bulwer-Lytton or Jules Verne. The reader will at times be strongly reminded of Bulwer as he follows the heroes during their exploration of the Realm of Light.

Apart from the story as a novel, the book possesses real merit because of the high, fine idealism that marks the lives of the people who have sought first the Kingdom of God, or the acceptance of the great eternal ethical verities, and through their acceptance have opened the door to spiritual progress that is splendidly reflected in the material happiness and development of the people.

The Sun-Dial. By Fred. M. White. Cloth. Pp. 344. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge Company.

THIS is the best mystery story we have read in months. All romances of this character are largely descriptive, but usually they are want-

ing in atmosphere and background. They remind one of an outline drawing rather than a finished painting. In this respect *The Sun-Dial* is incomparably superior to most mystery tales.

It is a romance dealing with two strange deaths which enlist the attention of a prominent electrician and a distinguished Italian criminologist. But incidentally, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, side by side with the story of the mysterious deaths we have a vivid sectional view of life in its various phases. Among the prominent actors are a famous artist and his beautiful but superficial and unfeeling wife; a young society man who leads a double life, treading the pathway of crime while posing as a scientist and an ultra-respectable member of society; the high-minded mother of this young man and her beautiful niece, together with several frivolous, card-playing members of modern fast society life.

The flight of the beautiful wife of the artist with the society man, and the miscarriage of their well-laid plans is followed by a series of startling and tragic events which open the way for a bright and happy life for the two people who had in different ways suffered greatly from the wrong done by the guilty pair.

Though there is here as in most mystery tales the element of improbability, it is not so obtrusive as in most similar romances; while the action is so swift, the interest of the reader is so well sustained, and the human appeal is so evenly balanced with the exciting description of the unraveling of what long promises to be a baffling crime, that most persons will doubtless overlook its weakness in this respect. Those who enjoy a well-written mystery tale which will hold the interest from the opening page to its satisfactory ending will go far before they find a better romance than *The Sun-Dial*.

The Stuff of Dreams. By Edith Sessions Tupper. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 292. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

THIS novel of New York society life, although highly melodramatic and not free from the element of improbability, displays much ability of the kind that is demanded by the general lover of romantic fiction in the weaving and developing of the story. It is a threefold romance of love, abounding in highly exciting incidents and dramatic situations. If put on

the stage it would doubtless prove a pronounced success before audiences devoted to melodrama.

The story opens with the introduction of Gerald Sunderland, a young man of the world and the son of a rich New York capitalist, and the beautiful daughter of a Western miner who in dying left the young woman under the guidance of Sunderland, Senior. Gerald imagines he is in love with the fair ward of his father. She thinks of him, however, only as a brother. Neither the father nor the ward, whose name is Lily Adriance, dreams that Gerald is dissipated or wild. He, however, has only escaped from serious trouble and complications through the industry and tact of his intimate friend, Jack Tyson. A scheming woman of the world has set out to ensnare Gerald, while in an uptown flat is a country girl whom he is supporting—a girl lured to New York under the promise of marriage. She is the mother of a little babe of whom Gerald is the father. Lily, in ignorance of all this, finds her guardian and her mother greatly desirous that she shall marry Gerry, and though thinking of him more as a brother than as a lover, she finally consents to become his wife. In the meantime, Beatrix Evans, the scheming society adventuress, sets out to prevent the marriage. A dinner is given at which the betrothal is to be announced, but the adventuress induces the mother of Gerry's child to appear before his father with the tale of her shame and wrong. The father compels his son to marry the girl. This the boy does, but refuses to live with her, whereupon he is disinherited by the father, while he gives his son's wife a place as his daughter and as mistress of his home. Lily and her mother go to Europe for three years. Gerald steals his child and with the connivance of a woman of his acquaintance keeps it out of sight during the months when the city is being scoured for the child. Gerald goes west. Three years later the little boy is the means of changing Gerald's whole course of life. He returns East and finds that his wife has developed into a strong and beautiful woman; that she is the constant companion of his father. At the time of his return Lily and her mother also arrive from Europe, and a general reconciliation follows.

An Adventure in Exile: A Romance of Normandy. By Richard Duffy. Cloth. Pp. 359. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

THIS romance deals with the loves of some idle rich Americans in France, and with three French characters: an elderly lady bent on marrying her son to a rich married woman whose husband, a *roué*, it is hoped the wife will consent to divorce; the son, an impressionable, passionate and rather fickle youth; and the rich but abused wife, one Stéphanie Lescure. Among the Americans, the hero, Lloyd Avery, and a brilliant young widow, Margery Herbert, occupy the most conspicuous positions on the author's puppet stage. The hero falls in love with a mysterious woman, a cheese-maker in Normandy, who turns out to be none other than Stéphanie Lescure. The timely death of the wayward husband leaves the field open to the rivals. The story is cleverly conceived and written in a bright, easy style. It is artificial and not wanting in the element of improbability, but it is a romance that will be thoroughly enjoyed by many not over exacting readers.

The Harvest Moon. By J. S. Fletcher. Cloth. Pp. 380. Price, \$1.50. New York: The John McBride Company.

THIS is a well-written novel pitched in a minor key. It is divided into three parts. In the first division the heroine, a beautiful English girl of Dutch descent, falls in love with an engaging artist who is sojourning at her father's home, with the old, old tragic aftermath. The girl gives herself to her lover, who shortly afterwards leaves and all trace of him is lost. She leaves her home and, companioned by a loyal girl friend, goes to live in Bruges. Part two opens twelve years later in that city, where the mother and son are residing. Later the scene shifts to Rome, and it develops that an Italian nobleman who has been greatly attracted to the boy is his father. A tragic incident in which the child loses his life brings the parents together, but the father is now married to an Italian woman, and the grief-stricken mother returns to England. Later the count's wife dies and he sets out in search of his early love. The meeting and reconciliation of the lovers constitute the closing scenes of the story.

The Wolf-Hunter. By James Oliver Curwood. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 319. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a story of the thrilling adventures of two youths, one Roderick Drew of Detroit, a

youth of eighteen; the other Wambi, a half-breed Canadian, in the northern wilds of Canada. The latter has fallen heir to a mortal feud that has existed for many years between the remnant of the tribe of which his father was the chief, and the scattered bands of another once powerful tribe. The hostile Indians, the great packs of half-starved wolves, and other foes constantly threaten the lives of the young hunters. Their hairbreadth encounters and escapes are portrayed in so vivid and natural a manner that it is safe to say it will prove one of the most popular books for boys of recent years. From a literary viewpoint it is incomparably superior to most boys' books, and while personally we question the wisdom of placing stories dealing with the slaughter of men and animals before our youths, it is, we think, the best tale of this kind that has appeared in years.

Live Dolls' Play Days. By Josephine Scribner Gates. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 108.

Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

LITTLE children who have been fortunate enough to have read any of Josephine Scribner Gates' *Live Dolls'* books will be delighted to learn that this charming author has written a new volume entitled *Live Dolls' Play Days*. Here, told in a way that will go straight to the hearts of little girls who are old-fashioned enough to love their dolls better than the Teddy bears, is a story of the wonderful doings in Cloverdale, the home of the Live Dolls. True, at the opening of the story we find the dolls very unhappy because their noses are out of joint. The Teddy bears have usurped their places in the hearts of the little mothers, and the Live Dolls almost desire to cease to live, since they are neglected and shunned by their once loving mothers. But with the coming of Patty and her aunt, who form the Happy Hearts Club, all is changed and golden days come again for the little dolls.

This is a delightful book for very little girls, and its atmosphere is fine and wholesome.

SOCIALISM AS A PHILOSOPHY OF PRACTICAL IDEALISM.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

DURING the past thirty years the real builders of civilization, the wayshowers and the prophets of progress, have been more largely concerned in the political, social and economic welfare of the people than at any period since the advent of the democratic era. These men and women, profoundly concerned as they have been in the larger and more vital things which are the wellsprings of national and individual life and growth, have noted with a perplexity only equaled by their disappointment the failure of democracy to fulfil its promise in the large and full-orbed way that its apostles of a century and a quarter ago anticipated. They are not blind to the immeasurable blessings that have followed in its wake; they are not unmindful of the fact that it has immensely broadened, elevated and enriched

life in general; that it has fostered science, education, and that freedom of thought and research which is absolutely essential to growth of mind and soul. They note with pleasure and gratitude that the more free and democratic, the more liberal and just a nation has become, the more rapid has been its progress along material as well as intellectual and truly spiritual lines. Yet in recalling the glowing pictures painted by the fathers, they see that in many ways democracy has failed to realize the ideals of her prophets and apostles; nor can they close their eyes to certain present-day tendencies that are grave and sinister in character, which are menacing in greater and greater degree the various strongholds of democracy and most of all are in evidence in the great Republic. They see that oppression and class-rule in a new guise or changed form have invaded the domains of free government, due to the fact that the fathers failed to safeguard the people's rule at all points—failed, indeed, to

*"The Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism." By John Spargo. Boards. Pp. 94. Price, 50 cents. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

make the necessary provisions which would render it impossible for their representatives to become misrepresentatives without the people having the power to promptly discipline the guilty and to finally pass upon their actions, so as to prevent the incalculable blessings of free government from being nullified. As one result of this weakness in the armor of democracy, they witness with alarm the slow but steady advance in control of government of a new feudalism, identical in spirit with but changed in form from that which oppressed the masses in the Middle Ages.

But this failure of democracy, which can be promptly met by De Tocqueville's remedy of giving the people more democracy, is by no means the only failure to realize the dream of the fathers.

Political independence or emancipation has fallen short of giving to the people the blessings anticipated, because it has not been companioned by industrial or economic independence. The friends of justice and human brotherhood have seen in every great city thousands of girls and women, owing to economic dependence driven from the path of virtue to lives of shame. They have seen the relentless hand of greed stretch forth and seize the little children by the thousands and place them in factory, mill and mine. They have seen a mighty commercial oligarchy rise upon the ashes of the old kingly and aristocratic oligarchies of the past. And seeing these things, they have been led to seek the fundamental causes of the evils that are striking at the vitals of democracy, and for the effective complementary remedies to render possible that degree of equality of opportunities and of rights which will complement political independence with economic independence for the workers of the world. It is with this last great problem that modern Socialism concerns itself.

II.

The works that have leaped from the brain of chosen prophets and wayshowers of progress, since Karl Marx wrote his immortal *Das Kapital*, and Frederick D. Maurice and Canon Charles Kingsley laid the foundations of the movement known as Christian Socialism, would constitute an extensive library. Of late years, in England and America, a group of exceptionally brilliant young men and women, fired by the spirit of true democracy that breeds a passion for justice and human

brotherhood, have given to the world a number of books of great value in a time like ours, when the thought of the people is in a state of flux and when on every side the evils that have become giant-like are being recognized by the serious-minded.

The latest and in many respects one of the most important of these recent books is Mr. Spargo's *The Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism*. It is distinctly a great little book, for here, crowded into less than one hundred pages, we have a most concise and informing exposition of the practical idealism that is one of the great motor powers of modern Socialism—an engine whose dynamic force has made this new philosophy a veritable evangel or gospel to millions of men and women, filling them with an enthusiasm rarely matched since the days when Primitive Christianity swept irresistibly over the pagan world.

The enemies of Socialism attack it as being grossly sordid and materialistic—a philosophy without moral idealism; or else as being visionary and Utopian, a fantastic philosophy wanting in practicality. The second of these objections has been largely discredited by the practical success that has attended the public operation or conduct of great functions of modern collective life, such as the post-office, the public schools, railway, telegraph and telephone systems, in nations where these latter have come under popular management, as well as national operation of mines, insurance and other great enterprises which have been successfully carried forward by the government of New Zealand, and by the great success which has attended the coöperative experiments in Great Britain and elsewhere.

But the first objection, though often answered, is advanced with great tenacity by the enemies of Socialism, who derive much aid and comfort from strident and iconoclastic voices in the camp of the Socialists. It is to answer these great objections that Mr. Spargo addresses himself.

III.

In the first place, he calls attention to the fact that men of genius are many-aided and "compels criticism and appreciation from minds of varied temperaments and interests."

He points out the fact that:

"The life of a great man is like a diamond that is cut with many facets, from any one of which the beauty of the stone may be seen and

appreciated. All the facets cannot be seen at once, just as no one vision of a great life comprehends all its sides.

"As with men, so with movements. As with the individual, so with individuals in the mass. The same test can be successfully applied to any great historical event or to any of the great movements in history.

"Not the least of the signs of the greatness of the modern Socialist movement, then, is the fact that it appeals with equal charm and force to men and women of many diverse points-of-view. It is, I think, the supreme glory of this great world-movement that so many temperaments and passions, so many qualities of mind and character, are attracted to it; each finding in it something that answers its own peculiar needs."

It is not strange that a great world philosophy like Socialism should appeal to different classes of thinkers, workers and dreamers in an overmastering way, should seem to be the peculiar heritage of those who feel that its message is as the water of life to them. The poor who heard the Great Nazarene gladly and followed so eagerly in his footsteps, felt that his Gospel was peculiarly their evangel—and so it was; but its appeal, based as it was on eternal spiritual verities, was far more than glad tidings to the proletariat. It was in its great ethical bearings a gospel of world-wide application. And so it is with Socialism, as Mr. Spargo thus clearly shows:

"To the wage-worker, engaged in a daily struggle for existence against the forces of capitalist society, Socialism signifies primarily a movement for his economic deliverance. It means security of employment. It means work that is worthy to be done and proper conditions for doing it, conditions which do not debase body or brain. It means freedom from Want and the haunting fear of Want. It means a larger share of the Good in life and less of the Ill. It means, in a word, material gains in the form of better shelter, better clothes, better food—and these secured against assault. Socialism thus becomes to the wage-worker the political expression of that struggle of which his labor union is the economic expression. It is his means of expressing in the state the claims he is continually advancing in the workshop.

"Thus the wage-worker interprets Socialism

in terms of economic gain. It is for him a philosophy which explains how and why others reap where he sows and take what he makes. It means to him a movement of the exploited to make exploitation impossible; to drive away by their concerted action, the dreaded foe, Poverty, and to enthrone Plenty in its place. And his conception of Socialism is a perfectly just one. Socialism means all that."

On the other hand, here is a worker who is very differently environed, to whom this philosophy comes with compelling force.

"He is, perhaps, a professor in one of the great universities. He has never known the pain and misery of want, or the fear of it.

"But in his life he has experienced another kind of bondage than that which the wage-worker knows. He sees that under the present system there is a bondage of the intellect, and he is quick to resent it. He finds that he is not free to teach the truth as he sees it; that chains of class-interest and greed are laid upon the mind and that Truth is muzzled in the temple. He sees, what the wage-worker only vaguely suspects, that the fountains of knowledge are poisoned at their source by the sinister forces of class-interest. The world in which he lives and moves is blighted by capitalism, and he conceives Socialism as the great Liberator of the Mind. He turns to the Socialist movement as the force which alone can rend asunder the chains which hold the intellect in bondage. His faith in Socialism is not less intense than that of the wage-worker but it is motivated by a different impulse and passion. And his conception of Socialism is likewise a perfectly just one. Socialism means all that.

"Yet another man approaches Socialism from the religious approach. Cradled in religious faith and inspired by an intense enthusiasm, he adds to the ethical view of life a mystic and poetic interpretation of the universe and of his relation to the *cosmos*. In that mystic and poetic interpretation he finds the vitalizing force of all his ethical precepts, and he believes that without it they would be barren and fruitless.

"Such a man sees that the religious life is impossible under capitalism. Everywhere, at every turn, the spirit of capitalism kills Religion. . . . Brotherhood in any real sense is impossible under capitalism. Life is all bound down to its ledger accounts of profit and loss. To live the Golden Rule is impossible. There

is no individual salvation from social evils.

"Seeing these things, seeing that under capitalism the ethical heart of religion dies and faith degenerates into a cold, barren, futile creed of formulas for vain and fruitless sermons, many a religious enthusiast turns to Socialism and finds in its teachings inspiration, solace and hope. To such a believer Socialism appears as a great, vital and vitalizing principle. And that conception of Socialism is as legitimate and just as any.

"The man who, because his life is torn by the coming struggle, sees in Socialism economic redemption is right; the man who, because his soul rebels at the bondage of the mind, sees in Socialism mental and intellectual freedom, is right; and the man who, because his religious faith withers under the blight of capitalism, sees in Socialism the force which will make the religious life possible, is right. Each point-of-view is legitimate and all are necessary to a full comprehension of Socialism. And there are still other points-of-view—the point-of-view of Woman, for example, seeing in Socialism the breakdown of the last remnants of her servitude and the triumph of Sex Equality; or of the Artist, seeing the source of ugliness in the spirit of greed which pervades capitalism, and looking to Socialism as the only hope for the Life Beautiful."

In the above extracts we see the spirit of the young, progressive Socialism of the twentieth century, the spirit which will win to the cause hundreds of thousands of the finest conscience-guided men and women who are themselves under the imperative sway of moral idealism and who have long shrunk from Socialism because they have been led to believe that it is a philosophy devoid of ideals or spiritual verity. This widespread misconception, as our author shows, is not wholly due to the criticism of the enemies of Socialism. In the elder day the apostles of the new economic philosophy, like the Great Nazarene and his immediate disciples, fond conventional religion bulwarking the existing order and opposing all broader, juster, nobler and more humane social concepts. Often the church was the right arm of the throne, the ally of despotism and entrenched injustice. It is not strange, therefore, that men who were persecuted and exiled, as was Marx, should confuse religion with churchianity. Later many radicals attracted to Socialism strove to commit it to an anti-religious program, but they were power-

less to guide the movement along narrow lines. More and more the Socialist movement has come to insist on religion being left to the individual, and more and more has the movement grown idealistic and spiritual in its emphasis. It is to-day as never before attracting to it men and women who are above all else idealistic, conscience-guided children of justice who yearn to see an era of general coöperation supplant the ghastly cut-throat and oppressive present-day order. More and more are the truly religious people coming to see that "under capitalism, society rots at both ends—the poor from their poverty and the rich from surfeit."

Mr. Spargo insists that a spiritual interpretation of Socialism is essential to its proper understanding. "The Spirit of Socialism cries out:

"I am Religion, and the church I build
Stands on the sacred flesh with passion packed;
In me the ancient gospels are fulfilled—
In me the symbol rises into Fact."

In confirmation of his claim that Socialism is idealistic and that a spiritual interpretation is essential to a true understanding of it, our author points out these tremendously significant truths:

"Here we have the greatest political movement in history, embracing men and women of all the nations of the earth of all colors and all creeds. At the very threshold, we are confronted by the fact that there is in this international movement a power of appeal strong enough to overcome all the barriers and distinctions of race, of sex, of speech, of tradition and of belief, uniting all in one vast aim and kindling in the hearts of all its adherents one sublime enthusiasm for freedom and brotherhood.

"In the past races have been born to a heritage of hatred, race hating race and nation hating nation. Even the religions of the world have not united mankind. Christians have persecuted and butchered Jews; Protestants and Catholics have vied with each other in the bitterness of their hatred. Over the pages of the history of civilization rests the scarlet shadow of man's hate for man born out of cruel perversions of the religious instinct. Visions of bloody battlefields, vast acreages of bleached human bones, gibbet and rack and thumbscrew, flames from funeral pyres leaping in mad fury around the writhing forms of 'unbelievers,' brutal and dehumanized mobs filled with worse than brute passion—such visions rise out of the pages of history, terrible

witnesses of the failure of organized religion to bind the nations of the earth together. This I say with no desire to attack organized religion, or to disparage it, but with reluctant spirit.

"Never before in all the centuries were so many millions of people of diverse races and religions, born to such widely varied traditions and environments, united in one great movement.

"If that were all—if uniting into one great movement all these strange elements of humanity, subduing all racial and religious hatred and distrust, were the only achievement of the Socialist movement, I should confidently assert its claim to be counted among the greatest spiritual forces of the world. Think of the world's more than eight million Socialist voters voting their declaration that equality of opportunity must take the place of our system of privileges and handicaps; that economic justice alone will satisfy them, because that is the only basis upon which the divine fabric of human brotherhood can be raised!

"Not only by reason of the fact that it unites mankind in a glorious brotherhood is Socialism to be regarded as a spiritual force in modern life, but by reason of the faith which is the secret of its power to unite men as nothing else in the whole stretch of the centuries has done. Great and wonderful as the result is, the impelling cause is, from a spiritual view-point, yet infinitely greater. In an age of unfaith, these Socialists, despised, reviled, hated and feared as they are, have a matchless faith in mankind and the future of mankind. To the prophetic visions of 'peace and good-will,' of days to be when swords and spears shall be broken into plowshares and pruning-hooks, the Socialist to-day answers with heartfelt 'I believe!'"

True, the Socialists attack modern churchianity, that discredits the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. Their attitude is very similar to that of James Russell Lowell in his poetical parable descriptive of the second coming of Christ.

"Socialist and other agitators," says our author, "hurl thunderbolts of superbly passionate invective against *Churchianity*, against what they feel to be an organized masquerade, but there is ever reverence and love for Jesus. They resent the perversion of his teachings by the churches and cherish in their hearts the pictures of the New Testament in which

Christ's humanity is portrayed. They think of the homeless proletarian, less fortunate than the foxes and the birds, with no resting-place for his weary head. They think of the Compassionate Christ, too big in his humanity to judge the woman at the well; tender in his love for the little children; withering in his scorn and contempt for an unfaithful and corrupt priesthood; sublime in his denunciation of an empty creedal caricature of religion; heroic and majestic in his anger at Mammon's desecration of the temple. This Christ, the Christ of the Gospels, they revere as a great comrade.

"The average workingman feels in his dumb struggle what Theodore Parker felt when he declared that if Christ could return to earth he would have to fight Christianity."

We have on more than one occasion called the attention of our readers to the significant fact that Socialism was one of the greatest if not the greatest enemy of militarism in the world to-day. It is also one of the mightiest forces aggressively working for world peace. This very inspiring truth is thus admirably pointed out by Mr. Spargo:

"The dream of universal peace, faith in the coming of a time when wars should cease, came not from the priesthood but from the prophets. In all ages the organization of the forces of religion has tended to narrow the religious concept. And in all ages the prophets, either from within or without the Church—but oftenest from without—have struggled to correct the tendency, denouncing the priests for their reactionary influence and their lack of faith, and holding up the wider ideal to the world. Not the priests, but the prophets, in ancient Israel held up the glorious ideal of a world redeemed from the curse of War and given to the reign of Peace.

"The International Socialist movement is the greatest force in the world to-day making for universal peace among the nations of the earth.

"The great Peace Congress at The Hague, occupied in formulating a multitude of rules for the regulation of warfare, intended to be for international wars what the Marquis of Queensbury's rules are for pugilistic fights, was far less significant, and far less potent for peace, than the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart. Said the representatives of the governments of the world with unblushing cynicism: 'Though we meet as a Peace

Congress, it is perfectly idle to think that war can be done away with. It is useless to talk of disarmament, or even of the limitation of armaments. All we can do is to provide a code of rules for the regulation of the great game of war.' On the other hand, the representatives of the workers, in their International Socialist Congress, not only declared unequivocally against all war, but also pledged themselves to the promotion of such a feeling of solidarity among the workers of the world as would make war an impossibility—except small armies of the ruling class should decide to fight their own battles. And this last is, of course, unthinkable. It is, indeed, the Socialist who is entitled to repeat Tennyson's prophetic lines:

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye
could see;
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder
that would be;
Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the
battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the
World."

"By reason of the fact that it unites peoples so diverse into one great fraternal movement, and by reason of the profound faith in human brotherhood which makes that possible and tends to promote universal peace, the Socialist movement of to-day must be looked upon as a spiritual factor of profound significance in our modern life."

But this is not all. We are in the midst of an age of pessimism and unbelief. True, great cathedrals, temples and churches rise on every hand. But never before has the empty pew given greater cause for concern to the thoughtful Christian. Rome under the Cæsars gloried in her multitudinous magnificent temples, and outwardly the forms and rites of paganism were observed with pomp and circumstance; but the old faith had died in the hearts of men. And so to-day under the splendor of man's material achievement and advance, living faith is almost everywhere waning. Thus our author well observes:

"I am no alarmist and my spirit is inclined to err in the direction of optimism rather than in the direction of pessimism, but I confess that the crass materialism of the age, with its absence of inspiring and uplifting ideals, oppresses my heart. Where to-day are the dreamers of dreams setting the hearts of men aflame with holy enthusiasm, setting the feet of the young men and maidens marching toward the vision? Where is there faith in

mankind, faith in the future of the race, in the capacity of mankind to rise higher and higher, to complete the chain of evolution from brute to brother?

"Only in the Socialist movement does this faith abound, only in the Socialist movement do we find the stirrings of the heart caused by the dream of a revived world. The churches have, for the most part, lost all their social ideals and their faith. Here and there a voice is raised in affirmation—may these few voices prove to be the leaven of the whole movement! The Socialist dreams and believes, but Mammon and the Church mock the dream and the faith.

"There is nothing more pathetic than the helplessness of the churches which the spirit of Socialism has not touched with its fire, kindling the flames of social faith upon the altars. They complain that the workers do not attend the services of the church and lament the fact that they have no longer the power to win the masses. Most of them seek the reason in all directions except that of their own lack of faith. They do not realize that the average church to-day is little more than the tomb of what once was a splendid faith—and men do not seek life in the tombs."

Nor is this all. Not only is the conventional church wanting in living faith: she is developing more and more an appetite for the flesh-pots of Egypt. She screens, nay, more, she permits not only in her membership but in high places men of great wealth who are morally unclean and spiritually dead—men whose corrupt influence in business and politics is the supreme menace of the hour.

"Even to-day," says our author, "in every city, it is well known that among the prominent 'Christians' will be found many of the worst exploiters of labor; owners of man-killing tenements, corrupters of legislatures, leaders of political 'machines' that traffic in votes and draw tribute from gambling-hells and brothels. And this condition of affairs arises from the fact that formulas and creeds have supplanted the ethical precepts of Jesus in organized Christianity.

"Happily, there is observable a healthy reaction from this. There is a very strong current of tendency in the church toward the ethical teaching of Jesus. There is deep-seated unrest in the churches: men are turning away from dogmas to the principles of social righteousness and justice. . . . We are in the midst of a great spiritual reformation un-

matched in the history of the world. Faith in man, faith in his power to rise, to realize his noblest aspirations and dreams, is the dominant spiritual impulse in this world-circling movement.

"How much this means to our American life cannot be readily estimated. Certain it is that over-estimation of its importance is almost impossible and unthinkable. It means nothing less than the redemption of our national life from crass and soul-destroying materialism. It means the birth of a nation's soul.

"In spite of all our much vaunted progress, if we except the strivings of the Socialists, the spiritual note is almost wholly lacking in our national life. Everywhere there is crass materialism, an absence of ideals of social justice and righteousness. The dollar standard rules everywhere. We boast loudly enough about our material wealth, but we are careless of those purple fountains of wealth, the blood of human beings. An assault upon any of our markets anywhere is quickly repelled, but not so an assault upon the lives of human beings. The dollar still holds a higher place than man in our social economy.

"With unwavering courage and eloquence fired with the elemental passion for liberty, the Socialists are incessantly demanding that human beings be placed above dollars in our social reckonings. Echoing Isaiah's exhortation, the modern Socialist agitator is forever crying, 'Come, let us reason together! Let us take stock of our national life! Are our possessions worth the price we pay for them? Is Mammon a good paymaster?' The challenge of Jesus to the individual our Socialist agitator hurls at the nation: What doth it profit a nation if it gains the whole world but loses its own soul?

"Granted the glory of 'our far-flung battle-line,' do we seek to pay for it by robbing childhood's cheeks of their bloom and joy? Granted the impressiveness of the tables of exports and imports, with their 'balance of trade' gains, are we sure that all the cost is counted, all the cries and tears, all the wrecked hopes and damned souls? Granted the splendor of the palaces of our millionaires and the cathedrals in which they worship, can we be indifferent to the number of human lives paid for them? Is it of no moment to us that for the splendor of the palace we must endure the squalor of a thousand noisome, body and soul-destroying hovels; that for the grandeur of the

cathedral we must endure the shame of the brothel and the reproach of the harlot?"

If Socialism wars against present-day churchianity, it is because churchianity has so largely abandoned the ethics of the Founder of Christianity. Socialism stands for, nay, more, is aggressively battling for the great social ideal of the Nazarene—the ideal of coöperation based on love—the ideal of the Golden Rule made the rule of the collective life.

Again, Socialism is working for the full-orbed development of man. Grounded and rooted in the eternal moral verities, it would provide conditions that would foster the best and tend to call out the latent greatness in mind and soul.

"It is unfortunate," says our author, "that Socialism is commonly conceived of as the antithesis of individualism; that its aim and program are supposed to be directed toward a leveling down process, toward a uniformity of development possible only through the repression of exceptional talent and enterprise. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that modern Socialism does not aim at, nor hope for, equality and uniformity. Its ideal is not a great level plain of comfort, but a free, unhampered social life expressing every variation of culture and genius; not a world of mediocre equality but of glorious inequality such as only true equality of opportunity can ever make possible. The only equality aimed at by Socialism is equality of right, equality of opportunity, out of which will develop a diversity of genius and attainment undreamed of as yet.

"Given such equality as this there would be no need to fear that life would become a dull plane of mediocrity. There would be no danger of a famine of genius. Not every one would be a poet any more than at present, but no 'mute, inglorious Miltons' would perish in silent misery, no splendid poem die unborn in the dark prisons of poverty and despair. Not every one would be a painter of inspiring pictures any more than at present, but no dream of beauty would go unexpressed because the torturous pain of poverty drove the dreamer to Lethæan silence and forgetfulness.

"Could we but see it and reckon it, the most terrible cost of our present system is its waste of precious genius. . . . It is to-day, under the rule of capitalism, that life is a dull level.

"It is to-day that for the great mass of humanity anything like individuality is impossible. Where is the individuality of the wage-workers, for example? Not one in a million is free to put into the work which consumes most of his life any trace of his own feeling or desire.

"To free the wage-worker from economic exploitation is indeed the primary object, the immediate aim, of Socialism, but it is not the sole object. It is not the end, but the means to an end that is far higher, the liberation of the soul. Labor, like another Prometheus, is bound to the rock of private profit and greed, and Socialism comes as the mighty Hercules to cut the cords and break the chains that bind the soul of man, setting it free for its upward and Godward flight. Mazzini used to declare that whoever could spiritualize democracy would save the world. But no one can spiritualize democracy for the simple reason that democracy is essentially spiritual; no one can make it a religion by bringing something to it, for the simple reason that it is religion. Democracy is the motor-power which makes for brotherhood, the grand passion of all religions."

Very able and admirable is the discussion of the marriage relation, in which Mr. Spargo shows the groundlessness of the charge made by enemies of Socialism, that it contemplates an attack upon the monogamic family. "The vitality of this hoary libel," he observes, "is remarkable. Refuted thousands of times, it still appears in every attack upon Socialism."

As showing the absurdity of the alarmist cry, our author concludes:

"Modern Socialism, as an ideal, and as a program, means equality of opportunity. It implies an equal chance for every child born into the world, so far as that condition can be attained by consecrated social effort. It implies giving all an equal chance before birth, and an equal chance to be well born, so far as that can be attained by human endeavor. It means that the collective strength shall supplement individual weakness wherever possible, social wisdom supplement that of the individual. No worse attack upon the family can be imagined than to say that these things would destroy it. To make the charge is to set the family against Justice and Humanity!

"The Socialist program not only does not contain any such proposals, but it is directed

against those factors which in present society tend to the disintegration of family life. It aims to so change economic conditions as to prevent the evil commercialization of marriage which takes place when a woman enters into a loveless marriage 'for a home' as surely as when another marries for great fortune or a title and patent of nobility rather than for love. It aims to put an end to those economic conditions which make the cry of a human child bearing the divine imprint of less importance than the cry of a machine, force the mother to leave her babe in order to become a wage-slave, servitor of the machine, and compel the child to enter into industrial competition with its father. Socialism is the only movement in the world to-day actively and aggressively struggling for these things; Socialists can claim with perfect candor and confidence that they are fighting those things which prostitute Love and menace the family, for conditions under which marriage and the family can flourish."

The discussion of the marriage relation is followed by an equally satisfactory and thought-stimulating final word on Socialism and religion. The volume closes with the following fine peroration:

"I ask you, then, for the reasons I have tried to indicate, to think of this Socialist movement as being something more than an effort to improve Man's material conditions, as being that indeed only as a means to the liberation of his soul. Long ages ago, in the infancy of the race, men saw the star of hope rise in the far distant sky over the hills of pain. A few, men of infinite courage and faith, followed the star, only to perish upon the lonely desert. To-day we can look back upon the desert and down upon the plain as we sing our marching songs. For we belong to an army of many millions, and have already marched far up the mountain where the star still shines over the Holy Temple which we seek.

"We shall reach the Holy Temple if we have faith and keep marching on; our children and our children's children will worship there and fill its aisles with the sweet songs of Freedom and Fellowship. Aye, this million-voiced giant with the scarlet banner in his grasp, whose tread is shaking the world with the force of an earthquake, and whose cry is like the primeval thunderings which woke the first gray dawn, will reach the Holy Temple at length and seize the star for a sign of victory and a crown of glory:

"This is the Earth-god of the latter day,
Treading with solemn joy the upward way,
A lusty god that in some crowning hour
Will hurl Gray Privilege from the place of power.
These are the inevitable steps that make
Unreason tremble and Tradition shake.
This is the World-Will climbing to its goal,
The climb of the unconquerable Soul—
Democracy whose sure insurgent stride
Jars kingdoms to their ultimate stone of pride."

This little book should be read by every thoughtful man and woman in the Republic. It is in our judgment one of the most vital and timely messages of recent years and cannot fail to do great good in clearing up popular misapprehensions in regard to Socialism.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

NATIONAL ENRICHMENT BY MEASURES THAT SHALL MAINTAIN SELF-RESPECTING MANHOOD.

The Two Supreme Demands Upon Twentieth-Century Statesmanship.

TWO GRAVE demands urgently press upon American statesmen who would place the highest interests of the people and free government above all baser considerations—demands that call for the same fearlessness, wisdom and conscientious service as marked the statesmanship of Franklin, Jefferson and Washington.

The first relates to effective measures which shall protect and bulwark the great fundamental doctrines of democracy which differentiate popular government from class-rule—the sovereignty of the voters, by the introduction of practical measures that will compel the people's representatives to represent them instead of representing interests antagonistic to the will and the best interests of the people, and the steady pressing forward of fundamentally just measures that make for equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people—measures that shall, by complementing political independence with economic independence, secure for the people the blessings of a full-orbed democracy.

The second imperative demand which the twentieth century makes upon the conscience-guided statesmanship of America is less fundamental, yet no less pressing, and that is the introduction and fearless and persistent pushing forward of a comprehensive national plan for internal improvements which shall enor-

mously increase the nation's wealth and provide a fabulously rich heritage for the oncoming generation, while at the same time it shall meet one of the most sacred demands of enlightened government by checking the downward pressure of poverty which is weighing on hundreds of thousands of willing workers, by providing remunerative labor through which they can escape the abyss, becoming neither tramps nor denizens of the slums. It is this second demand that we wish to consider at the present time.

A Retrospective Glance at "The Arena's" Battle for Self-Respecting Manhood and National Enrichment.

In the nineties, during the great industrial depression which threw hundreds of thousands of American workers out of employment and gave to the United States an army of tramps while enormously enlarging the boundaries of those moral and physical plague-spots of civilization, the city slums, *THE ARENA* was the pioneer American magazine to outline and urgently advocate a broad, systematic and practical program for internal improvements to be undertaken by the Federal government for the systematic development and reclamation of idle and useless areas that could be made ultimately to largely, if not wholly, pay the cost of reclamation, and which would increase in a fabulous degree the wealth, resources and income of the nation while supplying ample

work at a living wage for all able-bodied men who were genuinely seeking employment. The transformation of this idle army into an army of wealth-creators would instantly have created a demand for food, clothing and life's comforts and necessities, because an army of workers could and would buy, while the army of the idle had to submit to charity. Moreover, it would have taken from the workers in cities, towns and fields the shadow of the gaunt out-of-works eager to obtain the jobs of those then enjoying the privilege of toiling.

To indicate the practicability of such a plan, we secured papers from ex-Governor Lionel Sheldon and other competent writers, to illustrate what might be done. Governor Sheldon showed the need and practicality of a great permanent levee for controlling the waters of the Mississippi. Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan and other thinkers touched upon various aspects of the question, while editorially and by numerous letters to Congressmen and other publicists we strove to awaken our statesmen to the pressing need and the eminently wise and practical character of the inauguration of a proper and systematic program for internal improvement which would through irrigation utilize the arid desert regions, and by reservoirs and levees enormously increase the acreage of land through a large part of the nation's domains.

On all sides objections were offered. The old spirit of initiation and moral enthusiasm that had made the nation in her infant days the moral leader of civilization and the wonder and admiration of the world, had waned. The old moral idealism that placed right in the forefront, that made the highest interests of the nation and the welfare of all the people the master concern of government, had given place either to a statesmanship timid, vacillating and wanting in clear vision and the faith and moral enthusiasm that makes men and nations invincible, or to self-seekers who were secretly bound to privileged interests. We were told that the government could not engage in any systematic work such as reclaiming arid lands by irrigation, building reservoirs and levees, or for giving employment to out-of-works, for all such measures would be unconstitutional. We replied by calling attention to the "welfare clause," Section 8, Article I. of the Constitution, as amply warranting such measures as were proposed, in which Congress is empowered "to raise and collect duties, imposts and excises, to pay and provide for the common

defense and general welfare of the United States."

But it was urged that there was no precedent and it was useless to attempt any work along these lines.

Because of the criminal neglect of the government during the industrial crises and times of depression in the nineties, thousands of hitherto hope-governed and self-respecting Americans became wandering tramps and dwellers in the slums.

The agitation inaugurated at this time was not altogether fruitless, however, and the practicality of the proposal appealed to a large number of editors, statesmen and publicists. Especially was this the case in regard to irrigation, where the citizens of various sections took up the matter and carried forward a vigorous educational agitation. The growing demand of the people for some adequate means for the reclamation of empires of fertile land to be undertaken by the government became more and more insistent and the cry that such work would be unconstitutional went down when President Roosevelt boldly championed the proposal.

The government has already made a splendid beginning along this line of practical work and has established a precedent all-important to the further extension of the work. Yet splendid as was the innovation and wisely beneficent as the results have already proved, it was a tentative and very inadequate carrying forward of a program that should have been as instinct with moral greatness as with commercial foresight. And surely we have now reached a stage in which the statesmanship of the land should evince sufficient greatness to frankly meet the two-fold need of the hour in such a way as to exalt, enrich and ennoble the Republic.

A Practical Program.

Gladstone wisely contended that it was the function of a just government to make it as easy for the citizen to do right, and as difficult for him to do wrong, as possible. The welfare of every citizen should be the sacred concern of the state, and every practical means should be employed to prevent men and women from becoming dependents. A state commits a grave and irreparable wrong against herself and her children when her people ask in vain for work in order to maintain self-respecting manhood, independence and an environment that makes life worth living. The great army

of men who through the neglect and indifference of American statesmanship have since the early nineties sunk to the position of tramps and dependents or have been pushed into the slums where often they become infected with vice and crime, are not only lost to the Republic as factors of strength and worth, but have become a terrible burden and a reproach to the Republic, and they have materially increased the size of the ominous shadow that already falls across the nation. To check this downward pressure, to remove the glut of the out-of-works that congests the labor markets, and to make of them wealth-creators and hopefulized citizens, is one of the noblest and most urgent demands of the hour. And when this can be done by a practical and extensive system for internal improvement, that can be made in many instances to largely if not wholly pay for the work performed—a system that shall give the Republic an increase in available fertile acreage that shall equal the acquisition of an empire of almost fabulous wealth, the ignoring of such work becomes a colossal governmental crime.

Through a wise and practical government-supervised system of internal improvement, the army of out-of-works and tens of thousands of persons that are toiling for little more than starvation wages, could be transformed into an army of wealth-creators who instantly would enormously stimulate home markets by becoming an army of wealth-consumers. This is a fact susceptible of proof, and being such, is it not the imperative duty of the government to inaugurate at once a broad, comprehensive plan of procedure with the double object of supplying employment to willing workers at a fair wage, and utilizing or reclaiming idle and at present useless areas of potentially rich and productive soil?

New Zealand has amply proved that a government can practically and efficiently undertake and operate any great work that corporations with enormous capital at their command can successfully carry on. And what New Zealand has succeeded so splendidly in doing, Switzerland, France, Germany, England and other European nations are also more or less extensively doing.

The splendid success of our government work for the reclamation of land by irrigation, and the magnificent results that have in late decades attended the broad and comprehensive work of the Agricultural Department of our nation, afford thoroughly practical illustra-

tions, right at our door, that prove that the success that has marked the government operations in New Zealand and other foreign lands is not due to the superior ability, patriotism and integrity of other peoples, and that we are not the driveling, ineane and hopelessly corrupt people that the opponents of those who would protect self-respecting manhood and increase the wealth of the nation would have us believe.

Some Suggestive Work That The National Government Could Inaugurate.

If the government should appoint a commission of high-minded statesmen and practical engineers and experts, all of whom were interested in the double purpose here outlined, empowered to make a thorough investigation of the field and report on different means for greatly fostering the wealth production and distribution, a clear-cut program of advance could be soon presented, showing how the nation's potential resources can be practically developed and waste prevented, and how in many cases the work can be made to eventually pay, or almost pay, the original outlay.

Among these works, it will be found that irrigation can be further promoted. The Mississippi valley will also offer a splendid field for operation. Every few years there are great floods in certain seasons, when not only the Ohio and its tributaries, but the Missouri and other great western tributaries of the Mississippi, overflow their banks and pour vast volumes of water into the latter river, resulting in the destruction of many millions of dollars' worth of crops, stock and other property. This condition renders the cultivation of much rich land at all times hazardous and prevents large tracts of land from coming under productive cultivation. Yet this land, than which there is none richer or more productive in the Republic, by a permanent levee and drainage would annually enormously increase the wealth output of the nation, while in the course of a few decades the savings in property that is under present conditions being utterly destroyed from time to time by floods, would cover the outlay for the work demanded.

According to engineers who years ago made extensive examinations, the work of constructing a permanent levee, though it would entail a great expense, is practicable. The levee work could also be supplemented by a series of permanent reservoirs so constructed as to receive the water of the upper Missouri, Arkansas and other rivers when they reached

the top of their banks or threatened to become a menace to the lowlands on the Mississippi. Indeed, if a chain of these reservoirs should be made, not only in the West, but so as to tap the Ohio at intervals below the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela, the danger of loss by floods in the Mississippi valley would be reduced to a minimum, while vast tracts of land in southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois and in northern Kentucky, that annually suffer greatly from drouths, could be rendered evenly productive by supplementary irrigation. The western reservoirs would make thousands of acres of land potentially highly productive and render it possible to grow trees that in time would tend to greatly increase the rainfall. The levee and drainage work of the Mississippi would render available vast tracts of the richest land in the country, that is now idle, and this land could in part be used as is the irrigated land, for reimbursing the government for its initial outlay.

It may be urged that the land is either state-owned or the property of individuals. In the first instance an arrangement could easily be made for a portion of the land to be set aside to reimburse the government for improving the balance and protecting the property of the citizens of the state; while with the land under individual ownership, the government could condemn and take over a large part of this for making the balance productive, without being unjust in its action, and from the sale of this land a large part of the cost of improvement could be paid.

In this issue Mr. Roe contributes a luminous paper on a proposed protected Atlantic deep waterway, in which he incidentally refers to the large tracts of land at present idle, that by canals and drainage would be at once rendered available for use. The same provisions, if the work was taken over by the government, that we have suggested in regard to the Mississippi lowlands, could apply to the reclaimed swamp lands along the Atlantic canal course.

These are some of the national internal improvement works which could be taken in hand by the government with a view to fostering industry and independent American manhood by giving all able-bodied, willing workers the opportunity to earn a living wage, and which would at the same time enormously increase the annual wealth output of the Republic; while no race or community would be wronged, no lives lost, as is the case in aggressive annexation or foreign conquest.

No large body of men would slowly disintegrate as is ever the case when men are kept long out of productive work and as is the case in lands forcibly acquired, where soldiers are necessary. The work could be undertaken by the Agricultural Department, or a commission, such as we have suggested before, acting in harmony with the Department. The initial outlay would be small indeed in comparison with the results in the maintaining of effective manhood and the acquisition for use of territory that would vastly increase the annual wealth output of the land; while, as shown, ultimately a large part of the initial outlay could be paid back out of the holdings of the government.

Some Gains That Would Accrue.

Let us sum up this matter and consider for a moment some of the gains that would accrue from such an exhibition of constructive statesmanship.

(1) The growing army of out-of-works would at once be replaced, in so far as able-bodied and willing workers are concerned, by an army of wealth-creators in whose minds hope would have taken the place of despair. Gratitude to the government would spring where to-day angry discontent is rife. A chance to live a life worth the living, in place of a constant downward pressure toward the social abyss, would instantly change the horizon for all these workers. Manhood, self-respect, patriotism and ambition would once again claim these men who are now through unjust social conditions being made exiles of society.

(2) Vast tracts of useless and idle land would be reclaimed, and in many cases facilities for safe and cheap transportation of products would be greatly improved. Beautiful, prosperous and wealth-productive farms, plantations, grazing-lands, vineyards and orchards would dot these idle acres, each swelling the nation's wealth and affording sustenance for hundreds of thousands of happy human beings. Wealth created by means that reinstate self-respecting manhood instead of representing blood, misery, suffering and hate—is not this an achievement worth considering?

But there are incidental benefits that should not be overlooked. Let us suppose that here is an army of one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand idle men. Many of them have wives and children. Say that in all there are from three to five hundred thousand sufferers from enforced idleness. Now these persons

are unable to buy the food necessary for the proper sustenance of body and mind; unable to buy shoes, clothing and necessary fuel for their needs; and to this extent the agriculturist, the grocer, the clothing merchant and manufacturer, the shoe dealer and maker, and others fail to derive the revenue they would if the three to five hundred thousand were being properly supported.

But this is not all. With poverty and the winging of hope always comes the downward pressure. In periods of depression, vice and crime invariably abnormally increase. So the commercial losses are complemented by the great moral loss sustained by individuals and the nation, while through demands made on charity and the increased expense for courts and prisons, the government pays a heavy tax for her criminal indifference. Every day this army of one hundred or two hundred thousand

men are idle, the nation loses in its potential wealth products. But change this; give the men work, and they will be able to buy the food, the clothing and the creature comforts for themselves and their loved ones. They become wealth-creators and consumers, and the beneficent result is seen and felt throughout the whole social body.

Other benefits could be cited, but these are sufficient to show how richly worth the cost—nay, more, how imperative is the demand upon statesmen of intellectual grasp, of faith and moral integrity, to inaugurate a campaign for manhood and the expanding wealth of the nation that shall strike the early high moral note which dominated the fathers who gave us our great *magna charta* of freedom and who strove to establish on permanent foundations a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE ONWARD MARCH OF PRIVILEGED WEALTH.

How The Religious Conscience of The Nation is Being Silenced.

IN THE December *ARENA* we dwelt at length on one phase of the systematic campaign of organized privileged wealth or the new commercial feudalism, to gain complete mastery of government as well as the control of the sources of wealth and its distributing agencies. We showed how the master corporations and trusts, of which the Standard Oil Company has been the head and front, were becoming the deadly menace to free, popular and pure government, because they had at once to a great degree destroyed the vision or moral idealism of the people which, as the Bible writer truly says is the life of a nation, while they had steadily advanced in their campaign for gaining complete mastery of the wealth-creating and consuming millions, and finally were absolutely though not theoretically coming to dominate the government. We showed how, through a systematic bribery of college, church and missionary society, the corporations or the plutocracy are paralyzing the moral energies of the churches in the presence of a community of privileged wealth whose ascendancy means the destruction of

lofty ethical ideals as controlling factors in individual and business life, and finally, the death of the soul of the Republic. And we might have added that during the past two decades this industrious campaign has been largely furthered by the elevation to positions of honor and trust in universities, colleges and wealthy churches of subservient clergymen, and the cashiering or disciplining of fearless ministers who dared to preach against tainted wealth and to point out the deadly perils which through the ascendancy of corrupt wealth were threatening free institutions.

Shortly after our editorial above referred to had gone to press, the Hon. Frank S. Monnett, one of the leading lay members of the Methodist Episcopal church, stole a march on a body of clergymen who had convened in New York City. Mr. Monnett made a stirring protest against the drugging of the conscience of twentieth-century Christendom by the lawless feudalism of privileged wealth.

"To reward," exclaimed this intrepid patriot, "the criminal course of Carnegie and the Steel Trust and of Rockefeller and the Oil Trust because of donations by these men for worldly obligations and approbation might

be characterized as granting twentieth-century indulgences. The Methodist Church," he continued, "has laid itself open to being called 'The Church of Holy Petroleum.'"

"The Kansas Methodists, Ohio Congregationalists and the Pennsylvania Dutch Reformed," he further observed, "were robbed of their oil, coal and iron lands, making men, women and children by millions, pay 100 to 300 per cent. more for cook-stoves, hardware, coal and kerosene than open, normal competition would effect.

"As a Methodist, son and grandson of Methodists, I want to protest against the receiving of stolen goods under the plea of sanctity, and the exoneration of international kleptomania. It is the duty of every minister and layman to help and protect the down-trodden and not to encourage pilfering by the trusts' nefarious work. Such ministers may have to go out without scrip and staff, but they will come back with more honors than will result from apology for those men who have been indicted, and those who have not been indicted by the courts but who have been indicted by the public conscience.

"I consider it a burning shame that our ministry, splendid, intelligent, should be unmoved; be still, sit silent; not only sit silent, but commend the powers of the system to plunder the rank and file of their churches."

Mr. Monnett, it will be remembered, some years ago as attorney-general of Ohio, insisted on faithfully carrying out his oath of office by prosecuting the Standard Oil law-breakers just as rigorously as he would have prosecuted a poor man. As soon as it was found out that Mr. Monnett was not playing to the galleries and pretending to be a reformer while he faced the public but behind the scenes was ready to prove himself a "practical man," the Republican machine of Ohio brought all its influence to bear to force him to be unfaithful to his oath of office, and because he persisted, his political death was decreed. He is a trustee of the Methodist Wesleyan University of Ohio and a prominent lay member of the Methodist church.

The hostile criticism called forth from several prominent Methodist clergymen by Mr. Monnett's protest strikingly illustrates the soul-deadening influence of corporate wealth already so painfully observable in the pulpit. On November fourth, the New York World published a protest on the part of sev-

eral prominent Methodist clergymen. The Rev. Wallace McMullen, of the Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, in which John D. Archbold is a pew-holder, said:

"I do not agree with Mr. Monnett as to churches or schools profiting through gifts or bequests made by Mr. Carnegie or Mr. Rockefeller or any other wealthy man. . . . I would accept a gift for church or educational purposes from anybody."

The Rev. Charles Goodell, pastor of the Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church, said:

"If Mr. Carnegie's money is tainted, let's take the taint out of it. I know of no way in which money could be better used than in the extension and encouragement of church work and educational work."

Any one who has witnessed the silencing of churches in the presence of Standard Oil and other crimes, since the systematic bribery of the church on the part of the great corporations was inaugurated, need not be informed that whether or not the taint can be taken out of the money which a brigand on the highway has obtained through robbery or murder, or which a corporation like the Standard Oil or the Steel Trust has obtained through law-defiance, extortion or corrupt practices, there can be no question but what the reception of such money effectively closes the mouths of the supposed prophets of God and watchmen on the outposts of Zion, while deadening the conscience and moral impulses of pulpit and pew. Dr. Goodell imagines that there is no way in which corrupt wealth can be used to better advantage than through the extension and encouragement of church work and educational work. The Standard Oil Company, the Steel Trust magnates and other master spirits in the feudalism of privileged wealth have long since found out that there was no better way in which to render possible a continuance of their reign of oppression of the people, corruption of government and defiance of law than by bribing the church and the college.

We most emphatically dissent from Dr. Goodell's views. We believe if the church in every instance had drawn back in horror from accepting gold from corporations like the Standard Oil Company, or if it had taken the money and had publicly burned the same as a witness that the church could not be bribed or silenced by the corruptors of government and the plunderers of the people, religion would

have been advanced a thousand-fold more than it could possibly be advanced if it enjoyed all the wealth that the Standard Oil Company, the Steel Trust and the high financiers of Wall street have gained through indirection, defiance of law and extortion.

Corporation Control of The Daily, Monthly and Religious Press.

Another phase of this systematic campaign by Wall-street high financiers and the corporation chiefs for complete mastery of government, has been more and more noticeable during the past eighteen years in the steady and rapidly accelerated control of the daily press, followed by an equally marked encroachment upon the domain of the monthly opinion-forming reviews and magazines, and lastly, by its grip upon the religious press.

Last month Mr. William Salisbury, a brilliant American journalist of more than nine years' experience in reportorial and editorial work on leading American dailies, in his able but disquieting paper on "American Journalism" showed the readers of THE ARENA how great New York dailies are owned, controlled or influenced by corporate wealth represented by such men as Morgan, Ryan and Belmont. In his notable volume, *The Career of a Journalist*, this same author has given a number of impressive illustrations of how Chicago and other Western dailies have been made the tools of trusts, monopolies and public-service corporations. He cited also the fact that when in Florida, en route for Cuba, he was informed by one of the editorial staff of the leading daily of the state that it was owned by the Standard Oil corporation.

The recently published Archbold-Foraker letters reveal the fact that the Standard Oil Company was ready to advance sufficient money to gain control of a leading daily in the capital of Ohio. In the recently published correspondence by Mr. Archbold it was further shown that in one instance Standard Oil funds had been sent, to the amount of three thousand dollars, for a subscription to a Maryland publication, and two thousand dollars forwarded at another time for a subscription to a Southern agricultural paper. Does any one imagine for a moment that the editors receiving these amounts of money were not forthwith beholden to the Standard Oil corporation? Does any one imagine that after the acceptance of such funds they would have dared to have been true to their trust as editors

in denouncing the lawlessness and law-defiance of the great criminal trust? Like the clergyman to whom we have referred above, they might put up the pitiful claim that they had taken the tainted wealth and cleansed it of its taint, instead of becoming the besmirched slaves of the lawless and odious monopoly.

Some years ago, the late Professor Frank Parsons related to us a personal experience which he had with one of the leading and most influential conservative dailies of this country. The editor at that time was a man of convictions and ideals. He desired to see the real interests of the community advanced and when he read some papers prepared by the professor, dealing with the wonderfully successful results of public-ownership of municipal utilities in the Old World, he became enthusiastic over them and desired the privilege of giving them to his readers. Professor Parsons granted his request, and the first paper appeared in a prominent place, with a strong editorial endorsement. It was intimated, if not positively stated, that the papers would appear daily as a special feature of the publication. Several days, however, elapsed before another paper appeared, and when the second contribution was published it was placed in an out-of-the-way position. There was further delay in publication, and the professor finally went to the editor to know the reason of the sudden change in his plans. He was then informed that the papers had raised a storm of opposition from certain stockholders. The editor informed him that he had gotten himself into very hot water by accepting the articles. "For you see," he said, "several of our stockholders are also stockholders in the street-car corporation of this city, and they have made indignant protests, declaring that they will not have one business in which they are interested publishing matters which would tend to cut off their princely incomes from another business."

If the city should take over the street-railway company, they explained, the large revenue which they were receiving would go to the city instead of into their own pockets.

We might cite numbers of such instances, where the daily press has been forced to either become silent or become the partisan of private corporations operating public utilities, and thus the enemy of the public, the engine for advancing private interests inimical to the best interests of the people, and the propaganda for misinformation.

The Monthly Magazines in The Grip of Privileged Wealth.

The history of the great monthly magazines as well as the weekly periodicals, since the day the country was amazed by the news that the great, old and honorable firm of Harper & Brothers had failed and that J. P. Morgan had taken over the concern, installing as his representative Colonel Harvey, to the present hour, has been replete with disquieting incidents. To those who know the inside facts regarding the history of many leading magazines in recent years, and the names of the men and interests that either control the publications, are large stockholders in the corporations, or hold a bludgeon of power in the form of a lien over the magazines, there can be no shadow of doubt but what the same silent, determined and systematic agency that is seeking to bulwark the feudalism of privileged wealth in other directions, is at work to gain mastership of the opinion-forming magazines of the country. The spectacular turn in a single month of one editor of a great popular magazine, by which the whole policy of his publication was reversed—a policy that had resulted in making the magazine one of the greatest successes of the age and one of the mightiest organs of public opinion in the land, is too well known to be more than referred to at the present time. Though the public was not permitted to see behind the scenes, the fact that in one week this great monthly dispensed with the services of the really great corps of editorial and special writers whose frank exposures of the Standard Oil, of graft and crime, of municipal corruption by public-service corporations, and other bold exposures of government-debauching phenomena, had done so much to awaken a sleeping nation, naturally aroused widespread speculation from ocean to ocean.

Other more recent facts in the history of leading popular magazines that were becoming a menace to the "interests," the Wall-street gamblers, the public-service corporation chiefs and their political handy-men, are equally significant and disquieting and all point to the same sinister fact.

Nor is this all. There is every reason to believe that the hand that is throttling the church and controlling the daily and to a great extent the monthly press, is also bringing its influence to bear upon the religious press. Numerous circumstances and facts might be cited in support of this conclusion. Space,

however, renders it possible to mention only the latest sensational fact in this connection—a fact that affords a melancholy illustration of the decline of moral idealism and the loss of the old-time aggressive moral rectitude of religious leaders.

The Mystery of "The Outlook's" Reactionary Spirit Explained.

To reformers and friends of fundamental democracy, pure government and social advance, few things have been more disappointing or perplexing than the Jekyll-and-Hyde attitude of *The Outlook* during recent years. It has from time to time exhibited a most amazingly reactionary spirit that seemed to ill accord with what we naturally had a right to expect from the great religious weekly that under the genius and idealism of Henry Ward Beecher, and later of Dr. Lyman Abbott, became almost a Bible to a large number of the most earnest and high-minded American citizens. In recent years it has from time to time been the vehicle for the promulgation of many amazingly reactionary sophistical special pleas in favor of private ownership of public utilities, in opposition to woman's suffrage, and in extenuation of lawless wealth, as, for example, in the notable paper published a little over a year ago, which so delighted the Standard Oil Company that that great trust circulated great numbers of the article in question.

Nor is this all. The editorial utterances have from time to time been as perplexing as they were disquieting to friends of progressive democracy and social righteousness. Only a short time ago a gentleman enjoying a national reputation as a leader in the cause of pure and efficient government and popular rights, said to us in the course of a conversation on the strange reactionary course of a number of papers, that owing to the reactionary character of so much that appeared in *The Outlook*, he had during the past six months refused to waste any time with the magazine.

A short time after this conversation, the nation was informed that Theodore Roosevelt had been hired by *The Outlook*, at a salary of thirty thousand dollars a year, to write exclusively for its columns. And following hard upon the heels of this widely advertised fact came the announcement that James Stillman, president of the National City Bank, better known as the Standard Oil Bank, of New York city, was one of the large stockholders of the Outlook Company. It was even claimed by

the New York papers that of the one hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of stock, Mr. Stillman controlled one hundred thousand dollars' worth. But though at first the *Outlook* Company refused to discuss the matter, later the treasurer and general manager claimed that Mr. Stillman held less than one-tenth of the company's stock. This declaration, however, is not material one way or the other, nor is it especially illuminating. It is quite possible that various directors in the *Outlook* Company, or other stockholders, may be as intimately connected with the Standard Oil and other trusts, monopolies and corporation-controlled banks as is Mr. Stillman; and though it may be prudent, it is regrettable that the management of a great public opinion-forming magazine like *The Outlook* should be indisposed, in view of the charges made and circulated broadcast, to give to the world not only the names of all stockholders, but also the exact holdings of each. But it matters not whether Mr. Stillman and his business associates of the Standard Oil Company hold a control or only a substantial block of the stock. The holding, in the words of Mercutio, though "not so deep as a well nor so wide as a church door," "is enough." The light which this fact sheds on the reactionary tone of much that has appeared of late in *The Outlook* may serve to awaken some good people who sincerely desire the advance of popular interests, but who do not like the trouble of thinking for themselves when they can have a great religious weekly tell them what to think.

Certain facts in connection with Mr. Stillman are suggestive in view of the fact that he is a large stockholder in *The Outlook* Company. It will be remembered that Mr. Lawson in his exposure of the cormorants of Wall street had considerable to say in regard to Mr. Stillman, and any mention of him will suggest to the well-informed reader the great Custom House scandal of a few years ago.

On the fourteenth of November, in commenting on the Stillman holdings in *The Outlook* Company, the New York *Daily Call* had this to say about the National City Bank and the Stillman connection with *The Outlook*:

"This is the bank which bought the old Custom House in Wall street under conditions which caused the charge to be publicly made that the United States government had allowed the 'Standard Oil crowd' to buy the Custom House with government money and pay for it when it pleased.

"The bank, according to the charge, was favored in the transaction by a large deposit of Federal treasury funds with it, whereby the Standard Oil institution practically got back in interest all it had agreed to pay for the extremely valuable Custom House property.

"There were other causes for criticism of the Standard Oil bank, namely, that it, and the crowd of capitalists with whose interests it was allied, had established the curious custom of providing lucrative positions for United States Treasury officials at the close of their terms.

"It was said last night, and not denied by a director of *The Outlook* Company that Mr. Stillman owns a majority of the stock of the concern. It was further stated that no change of ownership or control had been arranged for in view of the proposed connection of Mr. Roosevelt with the publication.

"The revelation of Stillman's connection with *The Outlook*, coming as it does after the disclosures in the recent Presidential campaign as to the industry of the Standard Oil Company in making large subscriptions to various periodicals and supposed accelerators of public opinion, caused one of *The Outlook* directors to exclaim:

"I hope the public will not jump at the conclusion that Mr. Roosevelt is going on the side payroll of the Standard Oil Company."

Washington press dispatches published on November fourteenth stated that after a Cabinet meeting the following statement was issued:

"The President has not the slightest concern with the question as to who are the stockholders of *The Outlook*."

Doubtless the President will claim that the character and business affiliations of the stockholders of *The Outlook* will not influence his writings; but one thing is certain: we will hear very little from his pen in *The Outlook* of the tenor of some of his recent fulminations against the "malefactors of great wealth," or denunciations leveled at the courts for failure to uphold decisions made against the Standard Oil, as miscarriages of justice. For Theodore Roosevelt is a thrifty gentleman, and, as he said to his erstwhile friend, E. H. Harriman, he is also a "practical man." Being a "practical man," it will not be necessary for his friend Elihu Root to tell him that he must be discreet and not strive to injure the business or hurt the feelings of the group of men of whom one of his employers is a leader.

The bribery of college, church and missionary society with a moiety of the great wealth

largely gained by indirection and evasion or defiance of law, the capture of the daily press and the systematic assault on the weekly, monthly and religious organs of public opinion, are by no means the only methods by which the plutocracy or the feudalism of privileged

wealth is advancing in its determined effort to destroy democratic or popular government by a despotism of corporate wealth acting through political machines and bosses and aided by the public opinion-forming influences of the land, as *THE ARENA* will later point out.

A CLERGYMAN AND A PLAYWRIGHT ON ENGLAND'S PRESENT PERIL.

Will The Present Crisis be Met by The Statesmanship of a Peel or The Bourbonism of a Louis XVI.?

MORE than half a century has fled since England found herself confronted by so grave and sinister a specter as that which to-day, Sphinx-like, propounds a question which must be answered if the nation is to avert a night-time of strife, bloodshed and hatred.

Over fifty years ago, through the wisdom and lofty patriotism that evinced true statesmanship, Sir Robert Peel so met an acute situation as to prevent forcible revolution and enable England to front the morning and move toward the highlands of democratic idealism. Is the nation under the guidance of statesmen or of Bourbon politicians? That is the crucial question on which the glory or gloom of the mother country waits at the present hour.

Happily, to-day as never before in England's history, a large proportion of the clergy are evincing the Christ spirit, and this means more than most social reformers even dimly imagine. A new conception of duty is abroad; a new realization of the august demand of justice has touched the heart of hundreds and perhaps thousands of the more thoughtful and upright clergymen and ministers in the mother land. A strong new note now being voiced by the pulpit has found splendid expression in the distinctly notable work, *Christianity and the Social Order*, by the Rev. Reginald J. Campbell, of the City Temple, London, and also in many of the addresses delivered at the recent Pan-Anglican Congress.

An English Clergyman Who Feels God More Than He Loves The Flesh-Pots of Plutocracy.

One of the latest and strongest expressions representing the new awakening was made by

the Rev. Schofield Battersby, Rector of Holy Trinity, Blackley, who in answer to a request from the Bishop of Manchester made upon all clergymen in his diocese, to take up a collection for the unemployed, wrote as follows:

"When, My Lord, will the Church through her leaders realize that the unemployed want justice and not charity? When will the Church understand that the present selfish system of government is founded on an ungodly and un-Christian basis?

"Seeing that our present system of plutocracy is tumbling to ruin, will not the Church take the lead and head off the impending revolution as was done by the early Church before she was captured by money? Justice must come before charity."

Bernard Shaw Utters a Note of Warning.

The brilliant playwright, Bernard Shaw, who is so often set down as a cynic, has long been one of the most influential spirits among the Fabian Socialists of England—that little band of aggressive intellectuals who have carried forward a practical educational campaign in a most effective manner. Recently Mr. Shaw has spoken on the crisis that confronts England, in the following Shawesque phrasing:

"One cannot but wonder gloomily whether Grayson's expulsion will be sufficient, or whether the unemployed probably will be ignored until an English city is burned and half its inhabitants stoned and beaten to upset order, and the other half shot and sabred to restore it. Our lords and masters, politely called 'the governing classes,' because, although they cannot govern, they won't let anybody else govern, are continuously inciting the masses and their leaders to violence and disorder by constituting themselves a permanent object lesson in uselessness to themselves

and everybody else. Nobody ever succeeded in teaching them anything, but any criminal can intimidate them.

"Carlyle, Ruskin and Dickens appealed to their consciences with angel pens, but got nothing but sympathetic interest, invitations to dinners and offers of knighthood.

"I have always thought it a pity that, although the French government of the eighteenth century would not allow their attention to be diverted from Marie Antoinette's gambling debts to the poverty of the common people by the reasonings of Voltaire and Rousseau, they forgot them immediately when the

Bastille was destroyed and the chateaux burned about their ears by the people with no manners and less sense."

England's problem is the problem of every Christian land. The voice of awakened manhood now calls for justice and the right to work. Let such governments as wish to avert forcible revolution hearken and act with a wisdom that shall recognize the fundamental demands of the great democratic epoch—justice for all the people; the ideal of brotherhood supplanting the domination of privilege; and the exaltation of the interests of all the people above the petty demands of selfish classes.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR., ON THE PROGRESS OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN AMERICAN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

MORE and more the friends of pure, efficient and popular government are insistently sounding the cry, "Back to the people!" For some time the greatest ignorance prevailed among the voters as to the root causes of political corruption and municipal inefficiency in America. Men like Governor Folk, Lincoln Steffens, F. J. Heney, C. E. Russell, and other patient investigators have succeeded in clearly locating the chief root-cause both of corruption and inefficiency in city government. They have shown it to be the necessary fruit of boss and machine-rule working under the direction and in the interests of special privilege-seeking corporations, in such a way as to defeat anything like popular government.

That the people are at last everywhere awakening to the fact that the hope of pure and efficient government lies in getting it back into the hands of the voters is being more and more clearly evidenced by the increasing demand in state and city for the introduction of Direct-Legislation in municipal management, and especially in all matters relating to the disposal of public franchises.

The only intelligent objection to this demand that the fundamental principles of free government shall be effectively bulwarked, comes from the corrupt corporation chiefs and those seeking to fatten at the expense of the people, on the one hand, and the equally corrupt political bosses and their venal aids who make up the party machines, on the other, together

with the handy-men of these interests in the press and elsewhere.

The result of the revelations brought out by various exposures since the famous Lexow investigation, conducted some years ago, reinforced by the work of Folk, Steffens, Heney and others, has been to materially awaken the conscience side of American municipal life.

The recent annual convention of the National Municipal League and American Civic Center, held in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was one of the most notable civic gatherings in the history of American municipalities. There were delivered a number of addresses richly worthy of the consideration of intelligent voters. Among the ablest and most timely of these was that delivered by Robert Treat Paine, Jr., of Massachusetts, in the course of which this stalwart champion of pure and efficient government gave the following interesting facts as illustrative of the steady advance of the recent recurrent wave of the democracy of the fathers—the democracy that characterizes the fundamental distinguishing characteristics between popular or a genuine representative republican government and class-rule:

"Direct-Legislation is rapidly becoming one of the leading questions in connection with the government of our cities. The referendum is an established principle in American government and not a new-fangled device. Apart from its use in the adoption of constitutional amendments it is used in many places to

decide questions of local option, issuing of bonds and the undertaking of new public enterprises. By Direct-Legislation the people themselves determine whether or not questions shall be referred through the referendum to a popular decision. The use of the referendum is optional with the people and may be secured by a petition of a sufficient number of voters. Similarly the initiative takes its rise from an initial action of the people.

"The government of cities is the conspicuous failure in American political institutions. Our cities to-day face grave problems arising from the great increase of population and the demand for a higher standard of comfort and necessities, and should be able to grapple with and solve these new problems.

"The progress of a general movement for more direct and popular control of municipal affairs gives the best promise of the ultimate solution of the problem. The movement is either advisory or mandatory in its operation. The advisory system aims to secure action by milder methods than Direct-Legislation. Voters are allowed to suggest legislation or express their opinion. Systems of this general nature are in use in Detroit, Grand Rapids and Buffalo. In Illinois a public-opinion bill permits referendums in cities upon petition of twenty-five per cent. of the voters. Advisory systems are in effect in Toronto and Victoria.

"In Augusta, Maine, a charter provision for meetings of citizens held to consider the public good and to instruct their representatives is construed as authorizing special elections for the expressions of public opinion. There is a similar provision in the Massachusetts constitution which is repeated in the city charters, and while some smaller cities have held public meetings at times, it is not known that any city has adopted Maine's sensible expedient. Constitutions of some fifteen states contain similar provisions.

"While the advisory system applies to franchises, there is a movement to require that franchises be submitted to popular vote for ratification. Iowa and Indiana each have optional referendum on water, light and similar quasi-public service franchises. Street-railway franchises in Ohio must be submitted to a referendum if fifteen per cent. of the voters

petition for it within thirty days after the granting of the franchise. The charter of Memphis contains a similar provision for quasi-public service franchises.

"In Nebraska an act providing for local initiative and referendum becomes operative in a town or city when adopted by the voters, as has been done in Lincoln and Omaha. Various forms of the same system have been adopted in South Dakota, Oregon, Montana, Maine and Oklahoma. Several California cities including San Francisco and Los Angeles, have secured initiative and referendum through their charters. In most of the California cities referred to above the recall is in successful operation and has been used effectively. Portland, Oregon, has the initiative and referendum, and Seattle, Spokane and Everett have Direct-Legislation.

"Great impetus has been given to the movement which we are considering by the discussion and adoption of the commission form of government. The example of Galveston has been followed, with the addition of more or less complete provision for Direct-Legislation, by San Antonio, Houston, El Paso, Fort Worth, Greenville, Dallas and Waco. Des Moines and Cedar Rapids combine the Galveston commission with the Los Angeles Direct-Legislation provisions, Lewiston (Idaho), Sioux Falls, Leavenworth, Haverhill and Gloucester have all adopted charters similar to that of Des Moines, and Kansas City's new charter provides for Direct-Legislation. At the other extreme from a commission government, Newport with a council of one hundred and ninety-five members has provisions for the initiative and referendum.

"Nearly every form or combination of forms in municipal government hitherto tried has been more or less of a failure. The mass of voters has been divided by party allegiance. The influential and wealthy classes have too often had financial interests at stake. Experience has shown that neither initiative nor referendum is abused by an undue number of petitions. Direct-Legislation increases the power of a community over its government and by concentrating attention on measures and not men lessens the interference of partisanship."

THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT AMONG HEBREWS IN AMERICA.

THE IDEA is very generally entertained that the Hebrew has so instinctive an aversion to the cultivation of the soil that it is useless to attempt to make a farmer of him. We are told that he will prefer to live and die in sweating-dens, attics and cellars in the slums of the great cities, rather than become free, independent and prosperous through cultivation of the soil.

This claim, like so many generalizations of a similar character, is based largely on superficial observations and appearances, and though generally accepted, even by many Hebrews, is, we believe, thoroughly fallacious. It is true that a race that for two thousand years has been scattered over all Christian lands and during the greater part of that time has been the victim of cruel and unreasoning religious prejudice, not being in most cases permitted to live in peace on the soil or to own land for cultivation, naturally enough would lose to a great extent any love that it might once have possessed for the soil. Indeed, it must be remembered that for many centuries the Jews were practically compelled to huddle together in towns and cities, and over their heads the Damocles sword was ever suspended. Time and again they were the victims of insane hate and prejudice, of caprice and the lust of the all-powerful so-called Christian governments and communities in which they lived, as was notably the case in Spain and other lands during the halcyon days of the Inquisition, and as has long been the case in Russia. Such conditions would naturally destroy interest in the cultivation of the soil and would lead to the following of pursuits where returns for labor could be easily secreted and of a kind that could be readily carried on the person. Naturally enough, they have become traders and denizens of the great cities, not perhaps so much from choice as from necessity. But to claim that there is any deep and ineradicable aversion to agrarian pursuits innate in the Hebrew is to go far beyond the warrant of facts. It cannot be forgotten that when free and able to follow their own natural inclinations, in the early history of Palestine,

until after the successive conquests of Persia, Greece and Rome, the Jews were largely a pastoral and agrarian people.

We have long believed that all that was necessary to reawaken the normal and old-time love of the soil in the Jewish heart was the companioning of conditions of freedom and security, as they exist in America, with intelligent direction and a certain amount of individual instruction on the part of persons of ability and intelligence. The confirmation of this belief is seen in the success that has attended the efforts of the Jewish Industrial Removal Office of New York, assisted by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society during the last seven years to relieve the congestion among their people in the squalid centers of the Atlantic cities. During this time agents have been industriously seeking favorable locations for colonies and groups of families, and the placing on the land of those desirous of going who seemed fitted to successfully carry on agricultural pursuits. More than thirty thousand of these denizens of the slums and congested centers in our great eastern cities have by this means been successfully placed on farms in thirty-four states. The most successful and prosperous of the colonies established is that at Woodbine, New Jersey, in Cape May county. It governs itself, has its own mayor and other officials, and according to a recent writer, "Its streets are clean, the houses are detached and built with reference to plenty of air and sunshine. There are no saloons, no disorderly characters and no sweat-shops."

In western New Jersey much cheap land has been taken up by Jewish farmers and in most cases the results are proving most satisfactory. The people are industrious, law-abiding and courageous. Two agricultural schools for Jewish farmers have been established, one at Woodbine, and the other at Doylestown, Pennsylvania, and already Yiddish agricultural papers have been started.

We believe this movement is destined to greatly expand and prove most beneficent to the race and to the Republic.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS ON THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN.

WE HAVE recently noticed at length the astonishing Socialistic trend of thought evinced at the Pan-Anglican Congress held a few months ago in London, where the extremely radical utterances of the Bishop of Manchester, instead of arousing hostility, were in almost every instance reinforced by similar or even more pronounced Socialistic sentiments. And now comes the eminent American sociologist, John Graham Brooks, with the news that great inroads are being made by Socialism among leading business men, college professors and the student body of Great Britain. In a special paper written for the *Boston Transcript* and published in that daily on November 21st, Mr. Brooks says:

"Socialism, so long an outcast in England, attracting only the sturdy contempt of the prosperous citizen, has now forced its issues upon English politics and upon popular sentiment. On the bus, in the railway-carriage, at the neighboring table in the restaurant, in the drawing-room, one hears the word 'Socialism' as if it were an obsession.

"From our American point-of-view, it is still more startling to find business men almost of the first rank who are so far in sympathy with some of the fundamentals of Socialism that they would be called in the United States very dangerous cranks.

"The head of an ocean steamship company is a member of a Socialist society. I was told

by a member of Parliament, who has made a large fortune in trade, that he did not mind being called Socialist, because he recognized that many of their leading proposals were merely the next steps in practical legislation.

"At the City Temple one hears Dr. Campbell before an immense middle-class audience preaching, not the old Christian Socialism, but an out-and-out economic Socialism. Any one wishing to convince himself has only to read this clergyman's last book, *Christianity and the Social Order*.

"A letter from an Oxford professor had given me before leaving home some warning of the changed sentiments among college students. 'It is n't,' he said, 'the dull boys, but the very *élite* of our men who are becoming Socialists.' Only men like Sir Oliver Lodge and our William James can compete with Socialist speakers in crowding the largest Oxford hall. It is an event to watch the enthusiasm when men like Keir Hardie or Philip Snowden speak.

"One of the most popular dons of the university openly takes the chair at Socialist meetings. It is no mere intellectual flirting with the subject, but an open and definite commitment to the cause. In several of the leading colleges I found teachers quite as outspoken.

"There is unquestionably a larger freedom of economic discussion in Oxford than in the average American college."

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

By ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.,

Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

THE ELECTION of November 5d furnishes a most striking illustration of the failure of the people to secure through the ballot the reforms really demanded. Too many questions are before the country at once in the ordinary political campaign, and the

voter is sure to become confused. Often questions of personality or party overshadow questions of state. The voter may be in favor of a candidate and at the same time opposed to many things that candidate stands for, or may fear the party to which he belongs. A

method better fitted than the present one to muddle the people is inconceivable.

Political questions of high importance should be separated from each other and from all considerations of personality. For example, the question of the guaranty of bank deposits has properly no relation to the question of party and candidates. It should be discussed and acted on by itself, and this is true of a score of other questions. With the power to initiate and to veto or confirm laws, the people will also be left free to choose much wiser administrators, for the question would be not what laws would our magistrates give us but what is their ability to enforce the laws the people decide upon. Every consideration of progress, of justice, of wise and efficient administration demands the Initiative and Referendum.

Victory in Missouri.

THIS month we have the pleasure of recording a victory for the Initiative and Referendum in Missouri. Of eight constitutional amendments submitted at the recent election only two carried. The Good Roads amendment won by 19,000 majority, and the Initiative and Referendum by 30,942. Four years ago this latter amendment was defeated in the state by a majority in excess of 53,000. Here is proof positive that democracy is making rapid gains. In the next number of *THE ARENA* we will give the Missouri amendment in full.

South Dakota.

A MORAL victory has been won through the Initiative and Referendum in South Dakota. We give the case as stated by the *Milwaukee News*:

"The South Dakota divorce industry has been brought to an end by a vote of the electors of the state and a law approved that prohibits the granting of a divorce excepting in open court and that extends from six months to one year the time in which legal residence in the state may be acquired.

"Two years ago the legislature of South Dakota enacted the law that has been approved by the voters. Under the Initiative and Referendum provision of the state constitution an act of the legislature may be suspended upon petition of a certain percentage of the voters until it may be submitted to a referendum of all the electors. When the divorce law was enacted by the legislature, the divorce 'interests' circulated petitions for a referendum vote on the measure and succeeded in obtaining the

required signatures. The result was that the act was suspended until the next general election, giving the divorce industry a two-years' reprieve.

"Submitted to the voters, the law was approved by a two-to-one vote. That any considerable number of voters should have opposed it, we may believe, was due, as explained by a South Dakota newspaper, to the confusion that arose over the referendum ballot, there having been three questions, including local option, submitted to the voters. There seemed to have prevailed an idea among a certain class of voters that to oppose local option, it was necessary for them to vote 'No' on all the questions submitted—an error that was cultivated by those that were interested in defeating the measure."

Now this South Dakota case is the very one that those papers which are opposed to the Initiative and Referendum used prior to the election as a warning against the danger of letting the people rule. The argument was that the few who were interested in the divorce industry would be active and use money freely while the people at large would be indifferent. As a consequence, it was affirmed, this bad law would remain on the statute books. Now that the result is so different, those papers for the most part maintain a vociferous silence.

Contemptible Methods of The Opposition.

THE CONTEMPTIBLE methods resorted to by the opposition to defeat good measures when referred to the people is seen in the case just cited concerning South Dakota where an attempt was made to deceive the people by giving out the impression that they must vote "No" on all questions submitted in order to defeat an undesirable measure. A similar method was resorted to in Missouri to defeat the referendum itself. Dr. W. P. Hill, President of the Referendum League of that state, writes:

"The powers that fought us relied on the idiosyncrasies of the voters this time. When they found that our amendment was likely to be submitted by the legislature, they hurriedly passed a very unpopular amendment to increase the salaries of the members of the legislature first so as to have it at the head of the constitutional amendments and the first one the voter would see. Then they denounced this unmercifully as a salary grab by the legislature, thinking the voters would get started to vote 'No' and would vote 'No' all the way down the line—and I have no doubt

that it had a powerful influence in the country to cut down our majorities. But the long campaign that we fought successfully frustrated any attempt of that kind and enough voters discriminated in our favor to make the result. It was a great campaign and we have learned many valuable lessons therefrom that will be of use in the future work of making this state a truly democratic government."

But the climax of falsehood and treachery to the people was reached in the Cleveland case. The matter has been so clearly set forth by the Springfield *Republican* that we quote at length from that journal. Incidentally it affords us gratification to "unmask" at the same time the most pretentiously moral daily paper in Boston.

The *Republican* of November 16th says:

"Comment like the following from the Boston *Transcript* is far too common in the American press for the maintenance of its good reputation as an agency for municipal reform in the interests of the people against exploitation on behalf of private profit:

"Some men play their cards so skilfully that it takes the public a long time to find them out. It has taken the people of Cleveland seven years to unmask Tom Johnson, who, as mayor of that city, has hypnotized them with glittering promises. The Municipal traction company which was to carry the Cleveland public all over the city, was yesterday declared bankrupt and its affairs are in the hands of receivers. During the last few months the patrons of the street railways have been accumulating a store of wrath over the miserable accommodations afforded them."

"This is quite misleading. The Municipal traction company was not bankrupt. It was in a position to pay its current obligations and was meeting its rental charges to the old street railway interests. But the defeat of the so-called security franchise in the popular referendum created so uncertain a situation respecting the several parties in interest that a receivership has been decreed in order that the rights of the respective parties may be determined and satisfied.

"And then as to the 'unmasking' of Tom Johnson. He had simply expressed a belief, upon large experience as a practical street-railway promoter and operator, that a good street-car service could be profitably operated on the basis of three-cent fares with an honest capitalization of the investment, and after years of warfare with the private monopoly in

the field he had finally secured an arrangement whereby the experiment could be tried, with the people of the city as the sole beneficiary if it succeeded; and with the people no worse off than they were if it failed. Even had the experiment failed, the word 'unmask' would evidently be unjust to Johnson; but where is the evidence that it has failed? The trial has been in force only about six months—a time of business depression, with an ugly strike on the part of mischief-making employes of the old company to deal with, with a largely new equipment to be provided and with a considerable reorganization of the service to be effected. Nevertheless, even with these great handicaps, the new company was rapidly bringing the experiment to an apparently successful issue when it was tripped up by a deceitful referendum instituted by strikers and interested enemies.

"The *Transcript* speaks about an accumulated 'store of wrath' being let loose against the scheme at this referendum. But the fact is that the vote was very close; and the further fact is that the issue was presented to the voters by the enemies of the experiment in a way calculated to deceive the very elect. The 'security franchise' voted on existed merely as a refuge for the old company in case the three-cent scheme fell into default on the rentals. That franchise allowed a five-cent fare, and it was represented in advertisement and circulars that unless this franchise was defeated the people would have no security in the continuance of three-cent fares. 'If you want three-cent fare and not five-cent fare,' ran the circulars and advertisements of the 'Citizens' Referendum League,' 'mark your ballot against the franchise.' And thousands no doubt so marked the ballot, thinking thereby to clinch the three-cent fare, when the effect of such a vote was the opposite of this. And in the face of such an evident fraud and such an inadequate opportunity to perfect the three-cent understanding, we talk of the 'unmasking' of Mayor Johnson! It is undoubtedly in order for the private street-monopoly interests of the country to rejoice over this event, as they are doing through their trade organs, but how about journals supposed to stand for the public interests?"

Notes.

It is said that the divorce industry was worth \$600,000 a year to Sioux Falls alone and yet the people of South Dakota turned it down.

SPRINGFIELD, Massachusetts, is soon to vote on the play-ground act. The last legislature delegated to the voters of the state a part of its own function when in passing an act providing for public play-grounds it specified that the act before becoming operative should be adopted by the various cities and towns by a majority vote.

THE National Grange at its meeting this year at Washington, District of Columbia, adopted the following resolution concerning the Initiative and Referendum:

"Whereas, The effectiveness of Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum in overthrowing machine influence and its value in maintaining the truly representative character of our form of government has been demonstrated wherever it has been tried; and

"Whereas, This system is becoming a part of the fundamental law of an increasing number of commonwealths through state constitutional amendments; and

"Whereas, One of the great corporations of the United States is seeking through the United States Supreme Court to completely destroy this safeguard of the liberties of the people; and

"Whereas, The State Grange of Oregon is leading in the fight to maintain in the courts the right of self-government for the people of this nation; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Grange in forty-second annual session assembled hereby declares its earnest sympathy with the people of Oregon and of other states which have this system in their state constitutions in their struggle for its preservation and gives it our moral support."

This was unanimously adopted.

THE Mississippi legislature has authorized the use of the popular initiative for the establishment of a modified form of the Des Moines plan of municipal government. The system provides that all franchise-ordinances must be submitted to a referendum vote, and that the five public officials who compose the city council can authoritatively call for the resignation of any one of their number. Ten per cent. of the voters are authorized to propose the system to their fellow-citizens. The secretary of state is to issue the charter, signed by the governor.

"SHALL the People Rule?" The best answer yet received to Bryan's famous slogan came from Denver, where Judge Ben Lindsey, the children's judge, after being turned down by both political machines for the nomination, was triumphantly reflected.

THE PEOPLE are coming to their own. Soon they will be in control of their own government. The politicians and lobbyists are on the retreat. At the same time these enemies of the Republic will continue to fight and fight hard. They will scruple at no means to continue their power. The greatest threat to democracy to-day is the character of the Supreme Court as it may be constituted in the near future. If this court rules out the Initiative and Referendum as unconstitutional, the way to freedom will be long and dark and perhaps bloody. If on the other hand the People's Rule is declared constitutional, another generation will find all the states in line with Oregon, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Maine, Missouri, Nevada, Montana and Utah.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

The Chicago Report.

THE REPORT of Bion J. Arnold and Arthur Young on the Chicago lighting plant brings to light once more the fact that it is cheaper to produce electricity by means of water-power than by steam. Chicago can get water-power electricity easily from a state board that controls the Sanitary District, that

is, the Drainage Canal. Therefore it pays Chicago to use this current instead of producing current separately at a steam plant. In utilizing this by-product of another public utility the Chicago lighting system neither fails nor demonstrates the impossibility of Public-Ownership. In other cities it has frequently happened that while the municipality

runs the lighting plant a private company controls all nearby water-power, with the result that the lighting plant is choked into buying current—and a little note to West Thirty-second street produces another "failure." Very slowly our American cities are learning the principle of using and guarding their natural resources, and until they understand it in its fundamental relation all Public-Ownership is, of course, subject to the weaknesses of human nature instead of depending on the strength of science. The Chicago plant was largely an expediency measure and its methods were a reflection of that fact. In being forced to buy current from the board that controls the Drainage Canal the plant, so far from failing, reaches a surer footing, and becomes more truly a publicly owned and operated utility.

Garbage-Disposal Plants.

NOVEMBER WAS an unusual month in the matter of garbage disposal. Scranton, during that time, began to do its own work of collection and disposal, Columbus started to build a new reduction plant, Pittsburg started two incinerators, Spokane advertised for bids for doing the work along the most modern lines, Oakland experimented with a new method, St. Louis entered upon a new and very advantageous contract, Milwaukee adopted a new plan for an incinerator, and Boston received a report from its special garbage commission favoring incineration. With the exception of the last named all these cities seem to realize that garbage disposal while a matter of public necessity is also a source of public funds and that the revenue from the garbage by-products must be used to defray the expense of disposal.

Progress.

THE GENERAL movement for uniform accounting will in a few years put an end to the dickering as to whether a certain plant did this or that, or whether another did so and so. If the adherents of private ownership wish to prove anything they will have to keep their accounts of private plants by the same methods employed by the public plants—and results will tell. Apart from individual efforts in the direction of this reform, the three greatest steps in the past year have been due to the Wisconsin Public Utilities act, the Ohio Uniform Accounting act, and the action of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in the collection of the data for the report on the cost

of municipal government. Each of these in its own field and by its example has brought home to public-utility officials the importance of strict business accountability. But they have done more than that, in that they all mean taking the public into active coöperation. Publicity is fundamental to each method, and publicity leads to better service, mutual understanding, and greater interest and ambition.

With this movement, and more important than the hundreds of new plants that have been started in the year just past, has come the desire on the part of individual managers to make their plants, whether subject to uniform accounting laws or not, make a better showing. In some cases better accounting alone has been sufficient, in others a total reorganization has taken place, new machinery installed, or old machinery better utilized. There are two significant points in this:

(1) That that long said to be missing factor, "personal ambition," is proving itself to be very much present; and

(2) That the political "gentleman-manager," so to speak, is giving way to the non-partisan, long-term expert.*

Causal of reform as the movement for uniform accounts is, it is in even greater degree the result of the growing spirit of public service in the operation of public utilities.

New Plants.

THE FOLLOWING cities and towns have recently voted bonds and taken the first steps toward building new lighting plants or water-works:

Alabama—Abbeville, North Birmingham, Gadsden, Headland, Russellville, Slocomb.

Arizona—Bisbee, Mesa City.

Arkansas—De Queen, Leslie, Osceola.

California—Placerville, San Francisco, San Salito, Yuba City.

Colorado—Burlington, Johnstown, Las Animas.

Connecticut—Groton, Southington.

Delaware—Bridgeville.

Florida—Alachua, Daytona, Palmetto.

Georgia—Ashburn, East Point, Lafayette, Sylvester.

Idaho—Ashton.

Illinois—Chandlerville, De Kalb, Dixon, Fisher, Galena, Manito, Salem, Sandwich, Winchester.

*The same thing is proved from the other side by Mr. Grant's growing list of men who have given up trying to qualify as managers of public utilities.

Indiana—Elkhart, Knox, Ligonier, Marion.
Iowa—Ames, Anamosa, Bader, Carroll, Charlotte, Council Bluffs, Dallas City, Danbury, Dike, Lamoin, Spirit Lake, Stratford, Tama, Wapello, Winterset.

Kansas—Baldwin, Beloit, Bonner Springs, Great Bend, Hollywood, Kiowa, Kirwin, Linwood, McPherson, Moundridge, St. Mary's, Wichita.

Kentucky—Barbourville, Versailles.

Louisiana—Hammond, Houna, Le Comte, West Point.

Maine—Topsham.

Maryland—Laurel.

Massachusetts—Clinton, East Brookfield, Huntington, Manchester, Marion, Pepperill, Plainville, Shrewsbury, Waltham, Winthrop.

Michigan—Carsonville, East Lansing, Hancock, Highland Park, Hubbell, Jackson, L'Anse, Port Huron, Shepard, Sparta.

Minnesota—Bandette, Brainerd, Claremont, Lake Crystal, Newton Falls, Spooner, Springfield, Wabasso.

Mississippi—Brandon, Oxford, Prentiss, Speeds Addition.

Missouri—Alba, Elsberry, Farmington, Savannah, Smithville, Springfield.

Montana—Miles City.

Nebraska—Cambridge, Crofton, Deshler, Elm Creek, Fall City, Fender, Genoa, Gresham, Monroe, University Place, Valentine, Wahoo.

New Hampshire—Franklin, West Derry.

New Jersey—Haddonfield, Lodi, North Arlington, Passaic, Ventnor, Westmont.

New Mexico—Roswell.

New York—Albion, Cortland, Floral Park, Marcellus, Mt. Morris, Oswego, Rimmersburg, Sherman, Shottsville, Verona, West Seneca.

North Carolina—Beaufort, Burlington, King's Mountain, Maxton, Marion, Mooresville, North Wilkesboro.

North Dakota—Dickenson, Edgely, Lamoure, Towner.

Ohio—Amherst, Anna, Bucyrus, Cedarville,

Delta, Dresden, Hubbard, Kirwin, Lewisberg, Lima, Martin's Ferry, New Bremen, Newton Falls, Pleasant Hills, Shawnee, St. Bernard, Warren, Wooster.

Oklahoma—Afton, Altus, Bristow, Chattanooga, Cleo, Cordell, Durand, Edmund, Fairview, Granite, Helena, Kenton, Nowata, Sallisaw, Sayre, Thomas, Waterford, Waurika, Wellston.

Oregon—Ashland, Enterprise.

Pennsylvania—Avonmore, Barnesboro, Berlin, Boyerstown, Catasauqua, Conway, Fairchance, Hatfield, Juniata, Marion Heights, Mars, Newville, Pitcairn, South Sharon, Tarentum, Warren.

Rhode Island—North Kingston.

South Carolina—Belton, Bennettsville, Lancaster, Seneca, Yorkville.

South Dakota—Colton, Jefferson, Mobridge, Platte, Washington Springs.

Tennessee—Binghampton, Conyers, Lexington.

Texas—Childress, Corpus Christi, Greenville, Haskell, Hereford, Odessa, Rising Star, Sweetwater, Temple, Vernon, Wolfe City.

Utah—Lehi, Ogden, Richmond.

Vermont—Swanton.

Virginia—Basic City, Christianburg, Graham, South Boston, Verbanna.

Washington—Centralic, Chehalis, Harrington, Hillyard, Lynden, Okanogan, Puyallup, Renton, Wilson Creek.

West Virginia—Barbourville, Kimball, Salem.

Wisconsin—Bruce, Cashton, Fond du Lac, Hartford, Hortonsville, Hudson, Juneau, Loyal, Midford, Sturgeon Bay, Viola, Wilton.

Wyoming—Lovell.

This list does not include the many cities that have new public utilities under consideration, nor the plants that have begun operation during the year. It refers almost entirely to plants now under construction. Many of them will begin operation in January.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

THE October issue of the English monthly, *Representation*, is at hand. It contains a notable article by Secretary Humphrey, who was in Belgium when the last general election took place there. The article in question is an able and lucid comparison of the List system and the Hare plan, stating the case for each with the utmost fairness. The keen, clear analysis of the fundamental principles of each plan is most interesting and instructive. I propose, therefore, to present about half of Mr. Humphrey's article as my department for this month, and the remainder in next month's department. Mr. Humphrey says:

"A BELGIAN ELECTION.

"In the article 'Proportional Representation in Belgium,' which appears in the current issue of *The Contemporary Review*, I have endeavored to describe the organization and mechanism of a Belgian election. The facility with which the new electoral system is carried out, the demand for its adoption in county council elections, the satisfaction with which it is viewed by all parties, will probably give rise to the inquiry on the part of many readers as to why the single transferable vote, and not the Belgian list method, appears upon the covers of this journal. The present article will explain.

"In any comparison between the two methods of Proportional Representation there is no need to detract from the many excellencies of the Belgian system. It is undoubtedly an excellent system, the distance between it and the ordinary 'majority' method of election is immeasurable, and this statement should be borne in mind by the reader of this article, which is essentially a criticism of the Belgian method. Such criticism is necessary at a time when both the press and public men generally in this country (Great Britain) are beginning to recognize that important changes in our electoral methods are inevitable, and a comparison of the different systems of Proportional Representation is therefore needed in order that the method finally decided upon shall be the best available.

"A COMMON VOTING METHOD FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

"Before entering into a detailed comparison of the relative merits of the single transferable vote, and of the list systems of Proportional Representation, some reference should be made to two considerations which should be taken into account in the choice of an electoral system. In the first place it may be predicted with some degree of confidence that intercommunication of all kinds between the self-governing portions of the British Empire will continue to increase, and it is therefore very desirable that a citizen of one part taking up his residence in another part should find in force the voting method to which he is accustomed. Moreover, should there, in the future, take place that larger federation of the various states of the Empire, of which some have dreamed, a common electoral method would be of immense value. It is therefore of considerable importance to note that the single transferable vote is the system which is favored by advocates of Proportional Representation in all parts of the Empire. It was embodied in the Tasmanian Act of 1896; it appears again in the more recent act of 1907; it has figured in all the bills presented at various times to the Parliaments of the states of Victoria, South Australia, West Australia and also in the bill presented in 1902 to the Commonwealth Parliament. Mr. Deakin will, it is understood, submit ere long a new scheme of electoral reform. His scheme will probably embody Proportional Representation for the Senate on pretty much the same lines as those of the 1902 bill with contingent voting for the House of Representatives. Furthermore, Miss Spence, in a letter dated August, 1907, states that 'nobody has advocated the list system in Australia, so that if we obtain Proportional Representation it is likely to be in the best form. Nanson in Victoria, Clark in Tasmania, and myself in South Australia, have always presented the Hare system.' Again, it is the system which is favored in Canada, and it is a fact of some interest that the present

Governor-General of Canada conducted valuable experiments with this voting method when Member of Parliament for South Northumberland. Finally, although the details of the system to be adopted by the state of Oregon have not been decided upon, the single transferable vote is to be used. The Constitutional Amendment (already approved) states: 'Provision may be made by law for elections by equal Proportional Representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons, whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. . . . Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office.'

"THE METHOD SHOULD BE OF GENERAL APPLICATION.

"The second consideration which should be taken into account in the choice of our electoral system is that, so far as possible, the method of electing Members of Parliament should be equally applicable to the election of members of municipalities, of the committees of any organized society, or even to the election of a single officer, such as the mayor of a council, the president of a congress, the agent of a trades union, etc. The mayors of municipalities in Queensland are elected by means of the single transferable vote. The Northumberland miners have used the same method for the last twenty years in the election of their agents; Rule No. 180 of the Victoria Labor Council reads thus: 'All elections shall be by preferential ballot'; whilst the Toronto District Labor Council and the Winnipeg District Trades Council, employ the transferable vote in the elections of members of their committees. For such purposes the single transferable vote is certainly preferable to a system of competing lists.

"PROFESSOR NAVILLE'S OPINION.

"Leaving these general considerations on one side, a clear conception of the comparative advantages of the two main systems of Proportional Representation can perhaps best be understood from a statement of their development, and this may with advantage be prefaced by the following extracts from letters addressed by Professor E. Naville, the father of Proportional Representation in Switzerland, to Miss Spence, of Adelaide, South Australia.

In 1894 he wrote thus: 'The Swiss cantons have adopted the system of competing lists. I do not think the system is the best, but as it involved the least departure from customary practices, it was the system for which acceptance could be more easily obtained. My ideal is a system which leaves the electors face to face with the candidates without the intervention of lists presented by parties, that is to say, that the method of voting indicated at the end of the pamphlet forwarded by you has my preference. It is the system which I (inspired by the works of Mr. Hare) first proposed in Geneva, but, in order to obtain a practical result, account has to be taken of the habits and prejudices of the public to which the appeal is made, and the best must often be renounced in order to obtain what is possible in certain given circumstances.' In a further letter Professor Naville is even more emphatic: 'I consider,' says he, 'the Hare system preferable to that of competing lists. I have always thought so. I have always said so. But our Swiss people are so accustomed to the *scrutin de liste*, or multiple vote, that we could not obtain from them the profound modification which would have been necessary to pass to the Hare-Spence system.' These statements of Professor Naville are of considerable value in explaining why continental countries have adopted list systems of Proportional Representation—the new principle has been grafted upon the method of voting already in force. Their value is all the greater in that they are the considered opinions of the pioneer who has contributed more than any one else to the adoption of the list system of Proportional Representation in Switzerland—the success of which has given so great an impetus to the modern movements in favor of electoral reform.

"THE LIST SYSTEMS.

"The Belgian system is the outcome of a critical examination of the earlier list systems and it is an attempt to avoid the mistakes and imperfections of those systems. In the Belgian, as in every other list system, each vote has two aspects. It is a vote for the list *as such* and at the same time a vote either for a particular candidate, or in favor of a particular arrangement of candidates. It is best to consider these two aspects of the vote separately, and, in the first place, the vote, in so far as it affects the fortunes of the list.

"ALLOCATION OF SEATS TO THE COMPETING
LISTS.

"Seats are allotted in proportion to the total number of votes obtained by the respective lists. This rule seems quite simple of application and *would be so* were the totals obtained by each list such that it was possible to divide the seats among them in true proportion. Voters do not, however, group themselves in exact proportion and obviously, the seats allotted can only be in an approximate proportion to the votes obtained.

"THE FIRST RULE.

"The first rule adopted in allocating the seats was the more obvious one of dividing the grand total of votes polled by the total number of seats, and of basing the distribution of seats upon the quotient, or 'quota,' thus obtained. The total of each list was divided by the quota for the purpose of ascertaining the number of seats to which it was entitled and, as will be seen from the following simple example, the answers usually contained fractions. Assume that seven seats are to be distributed among three lists, A, B, C; that the grand total of votes is 7,000, and that the respective lists have polled as follows:

List A.....	2,850 votes
List B.....	2,650 votes
List C.....	1,500 votes
Total.....	7,000

"The quotient in this case is 1,000. The totals of the lists A, B and C contain the quotient twice, twice and once respectively, but in each case with a remainder, and it is the remainder that constitutes the difficulty. In the earlier 'list' schemes it was decided to allot the remaining seats to the lists having the largest fractions and, in the example given, lists A and B would accordingly each receive an additional seat.

"Party organizers were not slow to perceive that it was advisable to obtain as many of the largest fractions as they could and considerable dissatisfaction in Ticino arose from the action of the Conservatives, who very skilfully divided their forces into two groups, thereby obtaining additional seats. A simple example will explain. Assume that three deputies are to be elected, that the grand total of votes is 3,000 and that the party votes are as follows:

Party A.....	1,000 votes
Party B.....	1,400 votes
Total.....	3,000

"The quota would be 1,000 votes; Party A, having the larger remainder, would obtain two seats, and Party B only one seat; but if Party B should present two lists and arrange for the division of its voting force, the following result might ensue:

Party A.....	1,600 votes
Party B1.....	700 votes
Party B2.....	700 votes
Total.....	3,000

"The quota would still be 1,000 votes, but Party A would only obtain one seat, whereas Party B would obtain two, because each of its two lists would show a remainder larger than A's remainder.

"THE SECOND RULE.

"The next device was to ignore remainders and to allot the seats remaining after the first distribution to the strongest parties. But this was also far from satisfactory, as will be seen from the following example taken from a Ticino election:

Conservatives.....	614 votes
Radicals.....	399 votes
Total.....	1,013

"The constituency to which the figures refer returned five members; the quotient therefore was 202 and the Conservatives obtained three seats on the first distribution and the Radicals one. As under the rule the remaining seat was allotted to the largest party, the Conservatives obtained four seats out of the five when, obviously, the true proportion was three to two.

"THE D'HONDT RULE.

"The next development in the distribution of seats took the form of devising a rule which should so allot the seats to different parties that after the first distribution there should be *no seats remaining unallotted*. This is the great merit of the Belgian or d'Hondt rule. By way of illustration of this rule, let it be assumed that three lists have been presented, that they have obtained 8,000, 7,500 and 4,500 votes respectively, and that there are five vacancies to be filled. The total number of votes for each list is divided successively by the numbers 1, 2, 3, and so on, and the resulting numbers are arranged thus:

List No. 1.	List No. 2.	List No. 3.
8,000	7,500	4,500
4,000	3,750	2,250
2,666	2,500	1,500

"The five highest numbers (five being the number of vacancies to be filled) are then arranged in order of magnitude, as follows:

8,000.....	(List No. 1)
7,500.....	(List No. 2)
4,500.....	(List No. 3)
4,000.....	(List No. 1)
3,750.....	(List No. 2)

"The lowest of these numbers, 3,750, is called the 'common divisor,' or the 'electoral quotient,' and forms the base on which the seats are allotted. The number of votes obtained by each of the lists is divided by the common divisor, thus:

8,000 divided by 3,750 = 2 with a remainder of 500.
 7,500 divided by 3,750 = 2.
 4,500 divided by 3,750 = 1 with a remainder of 750.

"The first list contains the electoral quotient twice, the second twice, and the third once, and the five seats are allotted accordingly. Each party obtains one representative for every quota of voters which it can rally to its support; all fractions of 'quotas' are disregarded, and all seats are disposed of at the first distribution.

"THE LARGER PARTY FAVORED.

"The d'Hondt rule certainly accomplishes its purpose. It furnishes a measuring-rod by which to measure off from each total of votes the number of seats won by the list. But the d'Hondt rule is not without its critics. As in the earlier Swiss methods objection was taken to the undue favoring of certain fractions, so in Belgium, objection is taken to the fact that remainders are not taken into account at all. The Belgian rule works to the advantage of the largest party, a fact that many may consider as a point in its favor. A further simple example will show the force of this statement. Assume that 11 seats are being contested by three parties, whose votes are as follows:

Party A.....	6,000 votes
Party B.....	4,800 votes
Party C.....	1,900 votes
Total.....	12,700

"Arrange these numbers in a line and divide successively by 1, 2, 3, and so on, thus:

Party A.	Party B.	Party C.
6,000	4,800	1,900
3,000	2,400	950
2,000	1,600	633
1,500	1,200	475
1,200	960	380
1,000	800	316

"The eleventh highest number, which constitutes the measuring-rod, will be found to be 1,000; the largest party obtains 6 seats, the second party obtains 4 seats, with a remainder of 800 votes, and the third only 1 seat, with a remainder of 900 votes. The two smaller parties taken together poll 6,700 votes but only obtain 5 seats, as compared with the 6 seats obtained by the larger party with 6,000 votes, the two remainders, 800 and 900 votes which, together, constitute more than a quota, having no influence on the result of the election. Even if, in the allotment of seats, the largest party has a remainder of votes not utilized, yet this remainder necessarily bears a smaller proportion to the total of the votes polled than is the case with a small party. Thus the system works steadily in favor of the larger party.

"At a demonstration of the d'Hondt system at Lille, held under the auspices of the French Proportional Representation League, the following example was put: Suppose a constituency with 11 members; there are four lists, A, B, C and D, which receive 6,498, 2,502, 1,499 and 501 votes respectively; the d'Hondt rule makes 928 the measuring-rod and gives A seven members, B three, C one and D none. The question was asked as to why provision should not be made for the transfer of the votes on the list D to list C, so that if, for example, these lists were put forward by Radical-Socialists and by Socialists respectively the parties might obtain the additional seat to which their combined totals entitled them. It will be seen that lists C and D with a total of 2,000 votes (more than twice 928) have but one representative, while list A with 6,498 votes has seven representatives.

"COMBINED LISTS.

"The need of some such provision was recognized by Professor Hagenbach-Bischoff, who has formulated the proposal that parties should be free to put forward combined lists and that, in the first allotment of seats, the totals of the combined lists should be taken as the basis of the distribution. Professor Hagenbach-Bischoff's proposal has not been embodied in the Belgian law, but 'cartels' (arrangements for the presentation of a common list) are formed between the Liberals and Socialists so as to lessen their loss of representation due to the working of the d'Hondt rule. The 'cartels,' however, do not give satisfaction, as experience shows that many Lib-

erals who would vote for a Liberal list decline to vote for a 'cartel' of Liberals and Socialists, whilst, on the other hand, extreme Socialists decline to support a Liberal-Socialist coalition. In the Finnish system, however, provision is made for the combination of lists in accordance with Professor Hagenbach-Bischoff's suggestion and, indeed, as the Finnish law, for other reasons, forbids each list to contain more than three names, some such provision was necessary in order to allow each separate party to nominate a full list of candidates.

"LARGE CONSTITUENCIES REQUIRED.

"The question of remainders, or votes not utilized in the distribution of seats is of minor importance when the constituencies return a large number of members. When, for example, as in the city of Brussels, there are 21 members to be elected, the votes not utilized bear a small proportion to those that have been taken into account in the allotment of seats. When, however, only four or five, or even six members are being elected, these remainders constitute a serious imperfection in the system. In Belgium there are several constituencies returning as few as three members, and there is naturally a demand that these constituencies should be united so that the method of distribution should yield more accurate results, and, indeed, there are some who, in the search for absolute accuracy, would carry the process a stage further and take cognizance of the remainders in all the constituencies. I do not think that this is necessary, but undoubtedly the list system needs, for its successful working, constituencies returning a considerable number of members.

"THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE: HOW CHOSEN.

"It now remains to consider the second aspect of a vote in a List system of Proportional Representation. In the earlier stages (in fact, it is the practice in some Swiss cantons to-day) each elector has as many votes as there are members to be elected, and he may distribute those votes over the whole of the candidates nominated; selecting, if he desire, some names from one list, some from another, and some from another. After the number of seats secured by each list has been determined, the candidates declared elected are those who, in the respective lists, have obtained the highest number of individual votes.

"The practice of voting for candidates belonging to different lists has evoked consid-

erable discussion; and, as may be gathered from the pages of *La Proportionnaliste*, this is still the great bone of contention amongst the advocates of Proportional Representation on the Continent (of Europe). Should not the elector, it is asked, be restricted to voting for candidates of one list only? But why should he be restricted? At first sight there would appear to be nothing to discuss and that there was no possible reason why the elector should not be allowed to exercise his choice in the freest manner. It has, however, been found that this privilege can be used in an unfair way. When each elector has as many votes as there are candidates and is not permitted to accumulate his votes on any one, it usually happens that the votes obtained by individual candidates in any given list vary but little in number. When, then, in some elections it was realized that the party could only obtain a certain number of seats, but that it had a few hundred votes to spare, some extreme partisans used these votes for the purpose of voting for the least competent men of their opponents' list, and their action sometimes resulted in the election of those men in preference to the more competent men of the party.

"PANACHAGE."

"The danger from this cause would appear to be exaggerated, but nevertheless the question of 'panachage,' as it is called, is considered a very important one, and although success has seldom attended the practice of 'panachage,' the fear of a successful attempt has a disturbing influence. Thus, in a letter to myself, the accomplished Belgian Senator, Count Goblet d'Alviella, states that 'panachage' has been suppressed in the Belgian parliamentary system, and in his opinion, quite wisely. 'What right,' asks he, 'has each elector under parliamentary government? The right to vote for one party collectively and for one representative individually.'

"The Belgian parliamentary system suppresses 'panachage' in the most effective way: each elector has but one vote. But this simplification of the problem, most valuable as it is, does not dispose of all the difficulties in the selection of the candidates to be declared elected.

"ARRANGEMENT OF LIST BY PARTY ORGANIZATION.

"The Belgian system confers upon the organization presenting a list the right to arrange the order in which the candidates shall

appear upon the list and, further, it provides that the voter may approve of this arrangement by voting at the head of the list in the space provided for that purpose. Party organizations naturally advise their supporters to vote in this way. Public opinion is somewhat divided on this feature of the Belgian system, but M. Van den Heuvel, who took a responsible part in the passing of the law, and with whom I discussed this provision, defended it most vigorously on the grounds that the party, as a whole, had a right to determine which of its members should be elected. In the absence of the provision referred to, it might happen that some candidate would be elected in preference to one who was more generally approved of by the party. This may be made clear by an example given by M. Van den Heuvel himself. A, B, C and D are candidates. Suppose that the party is strong enough to return three candidates but no more and that five-sixths of the party are in favor of candidates A, B and C, whilst the minority, one-sixth, are ardently in favor of candidate D. It will be necessary that the majority of the party (the five-sixths) should cleverly divide their votes equally between the candidates A, B and C in order to prevent the possibility of candidate D being elected by a small minority of the party. A little reflection will show that in the absence of any such provision the popular candidate of the majority, say A, might attract too large a proportion of the votes, thereby allowing D to pass B or C. It must be acknowledged by all that each provision of the Belgian system has been most carefully thought out and, if it strengthens the hands of party organizations, it does so in order to secure the representation of the party by the candidates most generally approved.

"MODIFICATIONS OF THE BELGIAN SYSTEM.

"The Belgian system in its entirety has not been adopted, nor do I think that it is likely to be adopted by any other country. Even the French Proportional Representation League which, impressed with the simplicity of the Belgian system, desired to introduce it into France, refrained from advocating the adoption of the *case de tête* and suggested that the order in which candidates should be elected on each list should be determined by the votes of the electors—each elector having two votes when six deputies were to be elected, and three in larger constituencies. The association, however, followed the Belgian practice in confining the choice of the elector to candidates on one list. This proposition was examined by the Commission du Suffrage Universel which, in the Report of 1905, declared that it was impossible to approve of such a limitation of the choice of the elector. "*Nous ne pouvons laisser si étroitement enchaîner, garrotter, ligotter l'électeur proclamé souverain et qui doit en tout cas être libre.*" In the further Report, issued in 1907, this Committee reiterated the necessity of leaving the elector quite free in the choice of candidates, and, accordingly, Article 5 of the Bill, drafted by the Committee, recommended that each elector should have as many votes as there were deputies to be elected, and that he should be allowed to accumulate the whole, or several, of his votes upon any one candidate. Instead of the 'limited' vote restricted to one list recommended by the Association, the Parliamentary Committee recommended the 'cumulative' vote with the added privilege of voting for candidates on any list."

(To be concluded.)

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Cornell Co-operative Society.

THE Cornell Coöperative Society paid a dividend of eight per cent. on all purchases made by students during the year of 1908. The amount so to be paid out is \$2,500.

A Merchants' Carnival.

THE Merchants' Coöperative Association of Jersey City, New Jersey, held a carnival on the twenty-seventh of October. Preparations for it had been going on for many months, and it was deemed a great success.

Providence, Rhode Island.

THE Workingmen's Coöperative Society was formed in Providence, Rhode Island, about six months ago, and is shortly to open a store for the sale of provisions, etc. They report a membership of 300, including men and women. This movement is largely under the leadership of Britishers, who have been trained in coöperative ideals in England.

A Profit-Sharing Automobile Company.

THE Reo Motor Car Company of Lansing, Michigan, has declared a dividend of five per cent. on the salaries earned during the past year by all employes who have been in the company for a year or more. This is the second year that this has been done by this company. The dividend applies to over 700 men, and amounts to about two and one-half week's extra pay.

An Advantage of Co-operative Telephones.

THE coöperative telephone line in and around Upland, Kansas, has over 2,000 subscribers, nearly all of whom are farmers. It is said that at one time during the fall political campaign the "emergency call," which is used ordinarily only in case of fires and similar times of necessity, was used to rally the farmers to a political meeting. At noon, when all the farmers were at dinner, the emergency call was given on the entire 2,000 telephones, and the announcement of the meeting given. The result was that 2,000 families were informed and the crowd that night overflowed the hall.

Lewiston, Maine.

THE Great Department Store Company of Lewiston, Maine, paid an eight-per-cent. dividend on the tenth of September, to all employes, co-workers, as they are called by the association, based on the salaries earned. This is the second time this year that this has been done, a previous dividend of eight per cent. having been paid in March.

This store is in a flourishing condition. All the workers, from the managers down to the elevator boys, receive a dividend on their wages.

Co-operative Warehouse in New England.

THE RETAIL furniture dealers of New England held a convention in Boston early in November for the purpose of organizing an association for the coöperative buying of furniture and house-furnishings, and the establishment of large furniture warehouses where a display is to be carried on, and from which supplies, now chiefly shipped from the West, will be distributed to the New England trade. The company has at present about 115 stockholders, and it will probably handle about \$50,000,000 worth of goods annually. Prominent dealers in Boston are at the head of the organization.

Co-operation in Germany.

THE *Groesseinkaufsgesellschaft Deutscher Konsumvereine G. m. b. H.* (Wholesale Purchasing Company for German Coöperative Associations, Limited) at Hamburg, Germany, has published its report on the company's business during 1907. The total sales amounted to \$14,254,000, an increase of 28.7 per cent. over the business of 1906. The capital of the concern (which only supplies its affiliated coöperative retail stores) is \$239,000. The net profits from last year's dealings amounted to \$120,000. The report states that the prospects for 1908 are not auspicious, because the present economic crisis will cause lack of employment for factory operatives and other working classes.

The Grange of Houlton, Maine.

A FEW interesting facts about the Houlton

(Maine) Grange are given here, and it is to be hoped that the frequent mention of this most prosperous undertaking will receive the sanction the Grange deserves. This organization is the second largest in the country, has 951 members, and its coöperative store covers 13,000 square feet of floor space. Last year it did a business of \$115,000, and it is expected to increase the amount to \$150,000 the present year. This store was established ten years ago with a capital of \$140, all borrowed money. Its manager receives a salary of \$1,000 and hires his own help. In connection with the store are a grist mill, a blacksmith shop, a starch factory, all operated for the benefit of patrons only. There is a fire insurance company in connection with the Grange, which carries \$3,000,000 risks.

Co-operative Employment Agency.

TWELVE organizations of Cleveland, Ohio, have organized a coöperative employment bureau for the use of working girls and women, which is to enable them to find not only employment, but employment of a kind best suited to their own special needs. Women who want work in stores, factories, etc., are the ones who are expected chiefly to use the bureau. Besides representatives from the coöperating organizations, which are drawn from several social settlements, institutional churches, the associated charities, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Council of Jewish Women, and the Consumers' League, which is really the instigator of the plan, the controlling board includes three persons elected at large. They are a manufacturer, the industrial secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and the industrial director of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Co-operative Department Store in Germany.

EARLY in October an immense coöperative establishment was opened in Berlin, Germany, under the name of the Passage-Kaufhaus. Eighty-one retail establishments joined in forming one large department store. They secured a plot of ground in the very center of the retail trading district having a value of \$2,000,000, and on this has been erected a structure costing \$2,125,000. In this structure are housed the eighty-one different "departments," besides all the conveniences of the department stores. There is also a large central hall where special exhibitions can be held and a central passage or arcade

through the center of the building, this giving to the establishment its name. The building is owned by a limited company, which also undertakes the management, and while each proprietor manages his own business, the corporation attends to such details as heating, lighting, etc. The advertising will be done on the department-store plan, each "department" being charged proportionally for the space used. The receipt and delivery of goods will also be in charge of the management, the expense charged off to individual accounts. Every few days a meeting of the proprietors is held at which plans are discussed. It is the policy of this institution to allow the utmost freedom to shoppers, in contrast with the vexatious solicitation often met with in European stores. It is expected that this one fact will draw trade to this fine new establishment.

Ship-Building in England.

NEWS dispatches from England have been bringing reports of the coöperative organization of the firm of Furness, Withy & Company, one of the largest ship-building concerns in the world. The ship-building industry of the United Kingdom has been rent for a number of years with the bitterest and most costly dissensions between the employers and their men. The latter have organized strong trade unions, with full treasuries and resourceful, powerful leadership. Friction over conditions of labor, wages, and all the intricate questions that arise in great manufacturing enterprises has been almost constant, and strikes and lockouts have almost paralyzed one of the most important industries in the kingdom.

Sir Christopher Furness, who, besides being the head of the great firm, is a Member of Parliament and an accomplished publicist, finally made his men a remarkable offer. Declaring that the trade unions were organized, powerful bodies that ought to be in business for themselves, he offered to sell them the works outright, giving them easy terms of payment. If this were not held desirable, he offered to go into partnership with them. This latter proposition interested the men so much that they have decided to give it a year's trial. They will invest 5 per cent. of their wages, which are to be maintained on the regular scale, in employes' shares. On this investment they will receive 4 per cent. interest, and in addition a proportionate share of the profits after the regular 5 per cent. dividend on the ordinary stock has been paid, and the depre-

ciation, development, and reserve funds have been provided for.

It seems fairly certain that this proposal will at least bring industrial peace to all concerned, and that work will be carried on under the new agreement with a minimum of friction and a maximum of efficiency. He frankly told his men that they had exaggerated ideas about the profits their labor produced, and pointed out that by becoming co-partners they would not only receive this share—a small one in individual cases—but would also receive a "share in the sums won by the foresight and initiative of enterprise, and the staying power of capital."

New Co-operative Apartment Houses.

EVERY month brings news of new coöperative apartment houses in New York and its suburbs. One was reported in Brooklyn and one at 24 and 25 Gramercy Park in October. The Brooklyn apartment, which is the first to be built in Brooklyn, is completed and ready for occupancy. It is a handsome limestone-front building occupying a large plot at the southwest corner of Prospect Park West and President street, facing Prospect Park plaza and the Soldiers' and Sailors' monument. It contains twenty-four apartments which will be sold to as many tenants at prices ranging from \$2,500 to \$7,000 apiece. The entire building is valued at \$275,000.

Tenants have the right to sublet their apartments subject to the approval of the board of

directors, five in number, all of whom are stockholders and tenants. In addition to the original cost of the apartment each owner is required to pay from \$925 to \$600 a year for light and heat, hot-water supply, taxes, janitor service and telephone, and interest on a mortgage of \$150,000. The twenty-four tenants will obtain, instead of an equity in the building, a lease for ninety-nine years with the privilege of voting a renewal for the same length of time at the expiration of that period.

The apartment house at Gramercy Park is in process of erection. Literature, art and the drama are to be represented in this dwelling, for Richard Watson Gilder and his son, Rodman S. Gilder, are two of the six incorporators, and Jules Guerin, the artist, Herbert Lucas, the architect, Francis Wilson, well-known actor, and Charles H. Lee of the United States Leather Company, are the other four.

The company is incorporated under the name of the Number 24 Gramercy Park Company, with a capital of \$150,000 to carry through the project. The structure will be twelve stories high and stand on a plot 51 by 103 feet.

The apartments will be of the studio type, with large rooms and lofty ceilings. Each of the six incorporators will have a suite for his own use, in addition to which the building will contain several other suites, to be rented to such outsiders as the incorporators may regard as congenial tenants.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Professor Henderson on "The Career of Bernard Shaw."

DISCRIMINATING readers will find a rare treat in the distinctly brilliant paper prepared for this issue of THE ARENA by Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D., of the University of North Carolina, dealing with "The Career of Bernard Shaw." Professor HENDERSON is too well known to our readers to require any special word of commendation on our part. His keen penetration and rare critical judgment are accompanied by a splendid command of language and an easy flowing style that make his writings at once trustworthy and entertaining. We are pleased to note that his work is receiving fitting international recognition, articles from his pen having appeared in a number of leading publications besides THE ARENA during recent months. Among these publications are *La Société Nouvelle*, of Paris, the *Deutsche Revue*, of Stuttgart, Germany; *The Atlantic Monthly*, of Boston, and *The North American Review*, of New York. Professor HENDERSON spent a part of the past summer as a guest of BERNARD SHAW. He is the authorized biographer of Mr. SHAW and has made an exhaustive study of the man, his life and his art. His life of Mr. SHAW will appear next season simultaneously in England and America.

David Graham Phillips on "Economic Independence the Basis of Freedom."

TO US there is no more hopeful sign of the times than the phenomenon of a growing number of strong, able and scholarly young men who are great enough to resist the multitudinous bribes offered by the feudalism of privileged wealth and reactionary conventionalism, and who dare and care to strike telling blows against the encroachments of corruption, injustice and despotism in the Republic. Among this notable coterie no name more justly deserves a leading place than that of DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS. Born into a home of culture and refinement, he was educated at Du Pauw University and Princeton College. After graduating from the latter institution he was for several years on the staff of leading American dailies, his longest apprenticeship being on the New York *Sun* and New York *World*. Beyond the influence of his home, where old-time moral idealism held a high place, his environing influences certainly favored the conventional order and the growing feudalism of privileged wealth. Yet Mr. PHILLIPS elected to strike yeoman blows for a pure, efficient and just government. His novels, notably *The Plum-Tree*, *The Deluge*, *The Cost*, *The Second Generation* and *The Light-Fingered Gentry*, have become of inestimable value in awakening the sleeping conscience of the well-to-do masses to some realization of the sinister evils eating cancer-like into the body politic; while his *Reign of Gilt*, a volume of brilliant essays on plutocracy and democracy, has proved one of the most thought-arresting and helpfully stimulating works of recent years. In this

issue of THE ARENA Mr. PHILLIPS sounds the note of politico-economic advance in clear and definite phrasing. Economic dependence is the basis of present-day despotism. It is the function of a popular government to see that economic independence is assured to all her children, to the end that freedom, justice and human development may flower in their glory throughout the land. This great truth will more and more fill the thought of the world, until the new day bursts in splendor on awakened civilization.

"A Highly-Efficient State Railway."

IN THIS issue of THE ARENA will be found a further paper in the remarkably strong series of contributions by Mr. CARL S. VROOMAN on the railways of Europe. No living American writer in hearty accord with the principles of free government and the placing of public weal above private profit, has made so exhaustive a study of European railroads as has the author of this paper—an investigation which occupied upward of two years of personal travel throughout Europe. This paper, like its predecessor, will prove invaluable to friends of progressive democracy and efficient government. As previously announced, Mr. VROOMAN has been secured as foreign editor of THE ARENA, and his valuable services will add materially to the interest and worth of the magazine for the coming year.

"'The Servant in the House' as a Drama and as a Religious Allegory."

COMPLEMENTING the lucid and fascinating outline of "The Devil," contributed by Mr. RYAN WALKER to our last issue, and second in THE ARENA's series of critical studies of the most notable ethical dramas of the day, which the Editor is arranging as a feature for the present year, we this month present an extended study of "The Servant in the House," embodying an outline of the play and a critical consideration of it as a religious allegory and a powerful twentieth-century sermon.

"The Atlantic Deep Waterway."

ONE OF the most important problems before the American people is the efficient development of its resources by wise and practical internal improvements. A great work has recently been achieved in the reclamation of arid land through the extensive operations carried forward by the Federal government. Another great and important work is now agitating American statesmen. It relates to the building of a chain of canals that shall constitute a deep waterway, protected from the storms and dangers of the sea and extending from the Northern Atlantic coast to Florida. This question which is bound to become a burning issue, is treated in a broad, comprehensive and luminous manner by WILLIAM J. ROE in this month's ARENA. It constitutes at once a concise and convincing discussion of a deeply important subject.

"Medicine, Hypnotism and Religion."

IN THIS issue the eminent jurist and former judge on the Supreme Bench of California, Hon. JOHN D. WORKS, contributes an exceptionally lucid paper in which the author sets forth in probably as clear and convincing manner as they have yet been presented, the views of Christian Scientists as to the difference between their method of curing disease and that of mental suggestion. Judge Works notices the changing attitude of the religious world in regard to the possible cure of disease by other means than *materia medica*. He notes the violent opposition to the claims of Christian Science advanced a few years ago and the persistent contention that if any cures were made, they were made through hypnotic suggestion or mesmeric control, and therefore were fraught with danger; and he then takes up a new claim of a large section of the church—that it can perform cures similar to those being performed by Christian Science, through the employment of hypnotic suggestion and mental treatment, which a few years ago it denounced as dangerous. He next dwells upon the cures of JESUS, his method of cure, and the redemptive influence or regenerating effect following his cures and those which are noticeable in a large number of the cures wrought by Christian Science.

"The Christian Socialist Fellowship."

THE GREAT work of which Canon CHARLES KINGSLEY and FREDERIC D. MAURICE were the JOHN the BAPTISTS—that of realizing the ideals and

ethics of the GREAT NAZARENE in the government of the world, has during the past year taken a wonderful hold upon the imagination of hundreds of earnest clergymen in the various Protestant churches of America, while it has called to its support tens of thousands of earnest lay Christians. It will not be surprising if this movement advances with phenomenal rapidity during the next four years. In our present issue Rev. ELIOT WHITE, secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship for Massachusetts, a scholarly clergyman of the Episcopal church, contributes an interesting and informing paper dealing with the movement, its aims and ideals. This paper and that by DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS belong to a series of constructive and fundamental economic discussions which the Editor of THE ARENA hopes to present to the public during 1909.

"The Rationale of Common-Ownership."

WE CALL the attention of our readers to a highly thought-stimulating and arresting paper in this number, by Mr. WALDO PONDRAY WARREN, describing how common-ownership may be peacefully, rapidly and practically made to take the place of private ownership. Mr. WARREN is not a Socialist, but rather seems opposed to political Socialism. But he is a strong believer in common-ownership and cites an interesting successful instance of common-ownership that is now in active operation, as an illustrative example of how in his judgment great and beneficent economic changes can be quickly and practically brought about.

THE ARENA

FOR FEBRUARY

The February "ARENA" will be an exceptionally strong number. Among the papers of special merit which we expect to present in that issue we mention the following:

I. ITALIAN FREEDOM AND THE POETS. By Professor
LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH, PH.D.

A vivid pen-picture of the age-long struggle for freedom in Italy and the influence which this heroic conflict has exerted on the sensitive minds of the poets.

II. BENJAMIN FAY MILLS AND HIS GREAT WORK
FOR THE UPLIFT OF HUMANITY. By
GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

An illustrated paper containing a graphic pen-picture of the wonderful work being accomplished by the Rev. BENJAMIN FAY MILLS and his remarkable family. This article has been prepared for THE ARENA by GEORGE WHARTON JAMES, the well-known author of *Through Ramona's Country*, *The Old Missions of California*, *The Wonders of the Colorado Desert*, etc.

III. "THE THIRD DEGREE": A MODERN PLAY ILLUSTRATING THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE DRAMA. By B. O. FLOWER. *Illustrated.*

In the December issue, THE ARENA opened a series of discriminating characterizations of vital present-day plays of special ethical significance, in Mr. RYAN WALKER's admirable study of "The Devil." The second paper of this series appears in this issue, in the Editor's study of "The Servant in the House"; and the third paper of the series will constitute one of the illustrated features of the February issue, in the study of Mr. KLEIN's new play, "The Third Degree," a play in which the author of "The Lion and the Mouse" has emphasized a most important lesson for men and women of conscience at the present time.

IV. IS MODERN ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY A FAILURE? By Rev. P. GAVAN DUFFY.

This paper, by a prominent Church of England clergyman, is an admirable complement to the Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES' notable paper on "The Responsibility of the Churches," which appeared in the November ARENA. It is a contribution as profoundly thoughtful as it is deeply religious. In its present conditions are presented in a masterly, temperate and well-considered manner, and comparisons are instituted between present-day organized Christianity and the teachings, life and example of the FOUNDER of our religion which cannot fail to arrest the attention and awaken the conscience of earnest men and women.

V. A SYMPOSIUM ON RACE SUICIDE.

In the December ARENA the Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER propounded a disquieting question in regard to race decline with advancing civilization. In the February ARENA the Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, of New York city, HELEN CAMPBELL and ROSE PASTOR STOKES discuss the problem raised by the Rabbi in a calm, thoughtful and suggestive manner.

VI. RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION NOT CONFISCATORY. By CARL S. VROOMAN.

One of the most important of Mr. VROOMAN's masterly papers which have been so strong a feature of THE ARENA in recent months, will appear in the February number under the title of "Railway Nationalization Not Confiscatory." Mr. VROOMAN's paper is the result of an expert's exhaustive personal research conducted in various lands where the governments have taken over the railways. It is a thoroughly trustworthy and extremely valuable contribution for all friends of progressive democracy and the people's interests.

VII. INDUSTRIAL CLASSES AS FACTORS IN RACIAL DEVELOPMENT. By GEORGE R. STETSON.

We doubt if any English-speaking magazine in recent years has published a more profoundly thoughtful, informing or helpful paper on the extremely important subject of the relation of industrial classes to racial development than that which we expect to give in our February issue, prepared by GEORGE R. STETSON. It is a contribution that every thinker interested in economic progress should carefully peruse.

VIII. PROSTITUTION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM. By THEODORE SCHROEDER.

A thoughtful paper giving a secularist's view of prostitution. Not the least interesting or suggestive feature of this paper is the author's thoroughly sound and admirably-expressed views on the divorce question.

IX. MAN IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY. A Book-Study, by the EDITOR of THE ARENA.

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